

By Mr. GATHINGS:

H.R. 14601. A bill to amend the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938, as amended, to authorize the transfer of rice farm acreage allotments and rice producer allotments, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. HAWKINS:

H.R. 14602. A bill to eliminate certain limitations and restrictions (added by the Social Security Amendments of 1967) relating to aid to families with dependent children under title IV of the Social Security Act and medical assistance under title IX of that act; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. KASTENMEIER:

H.R. 14603. A bill to amend title XV of the Social Security Act with respect to the assignment of wages for purposes of unemployment compensation for Federal employees; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H.R. 14604. A bill to repeal section 1511(f) of the Social Security Act so that in determining eligibility of ex-servicemen for unemployment compensation their terminal leave shall be treated in accordance with State laws; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. MATSUNAGA:

H.R. 14605. A bill to create in the Executive Office of the President a Council of Ecological Advisers; to the Committee on Science and Astronautics.

By Mr. PATTEN:

H.R. 14606. A bill to authorize the Secretary of Transportation to prescribe safety regulations for the transportation of natural gas by pipeline and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. REUSS:

H.R. 14607. A bill to establish the Travel Incentive Act of 1968; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. ROUSH:

H.R. 14608. A bill to establish the Government Program Evaluation Commission; to the Committee on Government Operations.

By Mr. RYAN:

H.R. 14609. A bill to eliminate certain limitations and restrictions (added by the Social Security Amendments of 1967) relating to aid to families with dependent children under title IV of the Social Security Act and medical assistance under title IX of that act; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. SAYLOR:

H.R. 14610. A bill to amend title 5, United States Code, to provide for the mandatory separation from Government service of all officers and employees thereof at the age of 70 years; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. SCHWENGEL:

H.R. 14611. A bill to provide incentives for the establishment of new or expanded job producing industrial and commercial establishments in rural areas; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. BERRY:

H. Con. Res. 607. Concurrent resolution expressing the sense of the Congress with respect to the issuance of currency of the United States depicting the Mount Rushmore National Memorial; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. DUNCAN:

H. Con. Res. 608. Concurrent resolution expressing the sense of the Congress with respect to the settlement of the indebtedness of the Republic of France to the United States; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. REINECKE:

H. Con. Res. 609. Concurrent resolution to resolve the indebtedness of France to the United States; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. ROUSH:

H. Con. Res. 610. Concurrent resolution expressing the sense of Congress that the United States and the political entities

thereof should adopt "911" as the uniform, single, nationwide, emergency telephone number; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. SAYLOR:

H. Con. Res. 611. Concurrent resolution requesting the President to proclaim the 5-day period beginning August 12, 1968, as All American Amateur Baseball Association Week; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. ASPINALL:

H. Res. 1016. Resolution to provide further funds for the expenses of the investigations authorized by House Resolution 34; to the Committee on House Administration.

By Mr. CARTER:

H. Res. 1017. Resolution to express the sense of the House concerning a means toward achieving a stable and durable peace in the Middle East; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. CELLER:

H. Res. 1018. Resolution to provide funds for the Committee on the Judiciary; to the Committee on House Administration.

By Mr. RESNICK:

H. Res. 1019. Resolution creating a select committee to conduct an investigation and study of the relief of Lt. Comdr. Marcus Arnheiter and Capt. Richard G. Alexander; to the Committee on Rules.

Mr. TENZER (for himself, Mr. HALPERN, Mr. GILBERT, Mr. ST. ONGE, Mrs. GREEN of Oregon, Mr. MATSUNAGA, Mr. REES, Mr. OTTINGER, Mr. WALKER, Mr. SCHEUER, Mr. BROWN of California, Mr. BUTTON, and Mr. RYAN):

H. Res. 1020. Resolution expressing the sense of the House of Representatives with respect to U.S. ratification of the conventions on genocide, abolition of forced labor, political rights of women, and freedom of association; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. BINGHAM:

H. Res. 1021. Resolution expressing the sense of the House of Representatives with respect to U.S. ratification of the conventions on genocide, abolition of forced labor, political rights of women, and freedom of association; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

## MEMORIALS

Under clause 4 of rule XXII, memorials were presented and referred as follows:

298. By the SPEAKER: Memorial of the Legislature of the State of California, relative to a proposed amendment to the Federal Air Quality Act; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

299. Also, memorial of the Legislature of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, relative to the proposal to cut back by 25 percent on reimbursement to the States by the Federal Government for welfare costs; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

300. By Mr. BERRY: Memorial of the Legislature of the State of South Dakota memorializing the Congress of the United States to instruct and direct the Treasury Department of the United States to issue a series of bills in any denomination of the currency of the United States depicting the Mount Rushmore National Memorial, "The Shrine of Democracy," thereon; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

## PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. ADDABBO:

H.R. 14612. A bill for the relief of Laurel Ho Sang; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BOW:

H.R. 14613. A bill for the relief of Sara Laredo; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BROWN of California:

H.R. 14614. A bill for the relief of Angela Buono; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BUCHANAN:

H.R. 14615. A bill for the relief of Onofrio Sala; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. ESCH:

H.R. 14616. A bill for the relief of Sahera Saka, Wahidollah Saka, and Wajma Saka; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. FARBSTAIN:

H.R. 14617. A bill for the relief of Eva C. Castro; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. MADDEN:

H.R. 14618. A bill for the relief of Dr. Adriano A. Agana and Consuelo R. Agana; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 14619. A bill for the relief of Juraj Mikan; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. MATSUNAGA:

H.R. 14620. A bill for the relief of Mariano Acasio Juan; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. MESKILL:

H.R. 14621. A bill for the relief of Michael De Marcken; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. PELLY:

H.R. 14622. A bill for the relief of Miklos Kohary; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. ROYBAL:

H.R. 14623. A bill for the relief of Miss Carmen S. Carino; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. SCHNEEBELI:

H.R. 14624. A bill for the relief of Kalender Arslan; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

## PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

217. By the Speaker: Petition of United Brick & Clay Workers of America, Chicago, Ill., relative to better housing programs; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

218. Also, petition of United Brick & Clay Workers of America, Chicago, Ill., relative to the expansion and stepup of school buildings and other facilities for the education and training of our youth; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

219. Also, petition of the Honorable Jeanette Rankin; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

220. Also, petition of the Association of Cities, Towns and Villages in Okinawa, Naha, Okinawa, relative to return of administrative rights over Okinawa to Japan; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

221. Also, petition of Jad Michael Wakileh, Amman, Jordan, relative to a claim for compensation due as an employee of AID; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

222. Also, petition of Henry Stoner, Avon Park, Fla., relative to the composition of the Congressional Record during the first session of the 90th Congress; to the Committee on House Administration.

223. Also, petition of City Council of Worcester, Mass., relative to the allocation of funds for the University of Massachusetts Medical School; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

224. Also, petition of Bay Area Air Pollution Control District, San Francisco, Calif., relative to a provision in the Air Quality Act of 1967; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

225. Also, petition of the Military Order of the World Wars, Washington, D.C., relative to the proper recognition of George Washington's Birthday; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

226. Also, petition of John P. Parkinson, Newark, Calif., relative to prohibiting privately owned automobiles from operating on certain roads; to the Committee on Public Works.

# AMENDMENT OF THE CONSTITUTION RELATIVE TO EQUAL RIGHTS FOR MEN AND WOMEN—AMENDMENT

AMENDMENT NO. 512

Mr. HAYDEN submitted an amendment, intended to be proposed by him, to the joint resolution (S.J. Res. 54) proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States relative to the equal rights for men and women, which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary and ordered to be printed.

## PENALTIES FOR CERTAIN ACTS OF VIOLENCE OR INTIMIDATION—AMENDMENT

AMENDMENT NO. 513

Mr. TALMADGE submitted an amendment, intended to be proposed by him, to the bill (H.R. 2516) to prescribe penalties for certain acts of violence or intimidation, and for other purposes, which was ordered to lie on the table and to be printed.

## ADDITIONAL COSPONSORS OF BILLS

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, on behalf of the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. FULBRIGHT] I ask unanimous consent that, at its next printing, the name of the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. SCOTT] be added as a cosponsor of the bill (S. 1614) to amend section 5 of the Federal Alcohol Administration Act to provide a definition of the term "age" as used with respect to the labeling and advertising of whisky, and for other purposes.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, on behalf of the Senator from Washington [Mr. JACKSON], I ask unanimous consent that, at its next printing, the names of the junior Senator from Wyoming [Mr. HANSEN] and the senior Senator from Michigan [Mr. HART] be added as cosponsors of the bill (S. 2805) to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to conduct investigations, studies, surveys, and research relating to the Nation's ecological systems, natural resources, and environmental quality, and to establish a Council on Environmental Quality.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

## NOTICE ON WILDERNESS PRESERVATION HEARINGS

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. President, as chairman of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, I announce that open public hearings will be conducted on February 19 on proposals for three new additions to the national wilderness preservation system.

The proposed new areas would be the San Gabriel, in the Angeles National Forest in California; the Washakie, in the Shoshone National Forest in Wyoming; and the Mount Jefferson in the Willamette, Deschutes, and Mount Hood National Forest in Oregon. The respective

bills are S. 2531, S. 2630, and S. 2751, submitted and recommended by the President.

The hearings will be conducted by the Subcommittee on Public Lands under the chairmanship of the senior Senator from Idaho [Mr. CHURCH] starting at 10 a.m. in room 3110 of the New Senate Office Building.

Individuals or organizations interested in presenting their views on any or all of these bills should write or contact the Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, 3106 New Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C.

## COMMITTEE MEETING DURING SENATE SESSION TODAY

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Subcommittee on Antitrust and Monopoly of the Committee on the Judiciary be authorized to meet during the session of the Senate today.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

## ORDER OF BUSINESS

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I may proceed for not more than 5 minutes.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

## "PUEBLO" INCIDENT—ANOTHER WORLD WAR III, COMMUNIST-STYLE BATTLE

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. President, on October 23, in the first session of the 90th Congress, I delivered a speech in the Senate entitled "World War III: Communist Style." The speech was my interpretation of our involvement in Vietnam and explained in some detail the reasons for my thesis that world war III, Communist style, has already arrived. I said at that time that Vietnam was merely another in a series of little wars the Communists thought they could win easily, by which they hoped eventually to extinguish all political, economic and personal freedom in all the world.

After this talk, which, incidentally, received considerable widespread attention in the press and elsewhere, I was attacked by many who still claim that the war in Vietnam is nothing more than a civil war and that we do not belong in that part of world at all. Now, within the last 2 days, the dramatic incidents including the attack on the U.S.S. *Pueblo* in North Korea clearly demonstrate to me that this latter event is also another battle in world war III, Communist style.

I said in my October speech:

Every war is both different and similar as controlled by the conditions under which it is fought, and this one was planned by the Communists to make our air and naval power ineffective.

Mr. President, it is my feeling that the *Pueblo* incident, in which North Korean gunboats captured our intelligence ship and its 83 crewmen, is nothing more than a diversionary tactic, nothing more than a threat, and nothing more than a re-

action and demonstrates clearly that we are facing united Communist military threats.

It is a diversionary tactic because it has, for the moment at least, diverted the spotlight of the world away from Vietnam to Korea at a time when a major Vietcong offensive is in the offing.

In addition, it has diverted a major U.S. naval task force from perhaps a primary support mission in Vietnam to the Sea of Japan and the North Korean coast.

Who can tell how long the nuclear-powered aircraft carrier *Enterprise* and an unspecified number of destroyers and supply ships, not to mention the air armada, will be diverted while the United States makes an effort to retrieve our ship and its crewmen.

It is a threat because I am afraid we now cannot assume that our relatively unarmed ships are safe anywhere in the world from Communist muggings such as the *Pueblo* was the victim of in international waters.

It may well be the reaction of a united Communist purpose because of the use of 40,000 South Korean troops in Vietnam, and a method of retaliation for the loyalty expressed by our South Korean friends.

We need but go back to the early fifties to realize that in the Korean war it was China which backed the North Koreans and sent troops sweeping down from the north. This incident with the *Pueblo* very possibly could have been instigated by Chinese pressure in an effort to thwart the American involvement in Vietnam. In my opinion, the capture of the *Pueblo* is by no means an isolated incident or an isolated battle in world war III, Communist style. This occurred under a cover of Mig fighter planes and may very well be recognized as one of the battles of world war III. To be sure, this battle did not involve huge troop movements and massive and sudden military drives at full power strength, but, as I pointed out last October, this is not the nature of world war III, Communist style, rather it takes the shape of so-called wars of liberation because it is being waged with small units in Vietnam, Latin America, and now again in Korea. The attempt which was made to assassinate South Korea's President, Park Chung Hee, a few days ago and the guerrilla raids on American sentry posts along the demilitarized zone which divides the two Koreas, plus the 543 North Korean incidents in violation of the armistice up to November of 1967 alone, all fall into the sinister pattern.

Mr. President, I am sure all of us are deeply concerned over this violation of international law, and I share the hopes and prayers of the families of the men on the ship that they will be returned safely. I am certainly not advocating any resumption, expansion, or escalation of any war in Korea; however, I share the indignation that has swept across the Nation at the news and am getting tired of being pushed around by every two-bit Communist nation that comes down the pike. I am sure the President has both diplomatic and military options available to bring the *Pueblo* back to the high seas.

range to \$50 billion with potential profits as high as \$15 billion. It is the profits from the gambling operations which provide the funds for loan sharking, narcotics, and infiltration of legitimate businesses.

Organized crime corrupts politicians, police, and citizens. Too many people do not think twice about placing an illegal bet. If they can afford to lose the money, they think there is no harm. Yet the odds are that the citizen who makes an illegal wager in supporting the organization which supplies narcotics to young people; he is supplying funds which may be used to corrupt our public officials; he is making a contribution to the power of the most corrosive crime force in America.

La Cosa Nostra is a nationwide conspiracy whose criminal activities span the continent. A crime in California may be planned in New York and staffed by family members from Nevada, New Jersey, and Michigan. Because the Cosa Nostra is a highly disciplined, closely knit nationwide syndicate, we must combat it with national as well as local resources.

Prior to 1960 the Federal effort against organized crime was at best sporadic. In 1960, the Organized Crime and Racketeering Section of the Department of Justice handled only 19 indictments. Since 1960, the Department of Justice has given top priority to its operations against organized crime. By last year, the number of racketeers indicted by the Organized Crime and Racketeering Section had grown to an annual rate of more than 1,100. Convictions last year included three "bosses" or Cosa Nostra family heads and two "underbosses", the second ranking member of the family. J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the FBI, said recently that 1967 "marked one of the most effective all-out drives against organized crime in the history of law enforcement".

The Department of Justice efforts in fighting organized crime are being further intensified during 1968. Last year the Department tested and found highly effective a new technique—the "Strike Force" technique. These Strike Forces are composed of attorneys from the Organized Crime and Racketeering Section and investigators from other Federal agencies who devote their full time to the organized crime activities in a given city or area. Working closely with state and local law officers, these Strike Forces coordinate law enforcement and pool intelligence data relating to the structure, intentions, and, most important, the vulnerabilities of organized crime groups. Strike Force Number One, centered in a large Northeastern City, has already been responsible for 33 indictments.

These, then, are some of the federal activities which we believe will go a long way toward meeting the challenge of crime in a free society. But they do not purport to the ultimate solution. For they are all deeply rooted in the Constitutional principle of local law enforcement. And a community's success or failure in controlling crime will, in the final analysis, be determined by the people of the community.

Let me assure you that the Federal government will help to the full extent of its resources and its constitutional authority. We will press for the control of guns, for the planning and training needed to prevent and control riots, for a nationwide attack on organized crime and—most importantly—for the renaissance in criminal justice proposed in the Safe Streets and Crime Control Act. We believe that, by working together, America can control crime.

#### FARMERS HOME ADMINISTRATION MEANS PROGRESS FOR TEXAS

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, recently Secretary of Agriculture Orville

L. Freeman was quoted as saying that the Farmers Home Administration is one of the "unsung heroes of the Federal Government." As one who has worked closely with the agency for many years and has observed what it has accomplished in my own State of Texas, I quite agree with Secretary Freeman.

Quietly and without fanfare, the Farmers Home Administration goes about its job of helping small farmers with supervised credit, helping rural people to improve their housing, and assisting thousands of rural communities to construct basic community facilities.

The progress FHA has made under this administration since 1961 with the cooperation and support of Congress is nothing short of amazing.

In Texas, for example, the number of people now being served by FHA credit has increased nearly fivefold since 1960. The total amount of credit advanced to rural people in my State in fiscal 1967

was \$129,719,947 as compared to \$34.3 million in 1960.

In 1960, only two rural communities in Texas received financing from the agency to build water systems. The loans totaled only \$104,100. Last year, by comparison, 156 small towns in my State received a total of \$18.5 million to build community water and waste disposal systems.

Since all these loans go to borrowers who are unable to get credit elsewhere, the repayment record on these loans is remarkable.

Our Texas State director, Lester "Cap" Cappleman, and his dedicated staff deserve much of the credit for the fine achievements being made in rural Texas by this agency.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that a table showing the progress of this agency in my State since 1960 be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the table was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SELECTED ACTIVITIES DURING 1960 AND 1967 FISCAL YEARS IN THE STATE OF TEXAS

	Fiscal year 1960		Fiscal year 1967	
	Number	Amount	Number	Amount
I. Loans and grants made by type of assistance:				
Operating loans.....	7,307	\$22,699,251	4,885	\$32,305,612
Economic opportunity loans.....			811	1,709,329
Emergency and special livestock loans.....	2,278	7,566,405	4,107	27,142,888
Farmownership loans.....	104	1,758,917	575	13,839,251
Soil and water loans.....	21	86,202	52	291,970
Rural housing loans.....	241	2,184,216	3,695	27,058,727
Rural rental housing loans.....			4	178,400
Farm labor housing loans and grants.....			3	969,380
Assistance to associations:				
For domestic water or sewer projects:				
Loans.....	2	104,100	141	17,568,570
Development grants in connection with loans.....			15	976,770
Total, water or sewer.....	2	104,100	156	18,545,340
For recreation projects (loans).....			22	4,871,110
For grazing associations (loans).....			2	2,200,060
Total, all types of associations.....	2	104,100	180	25,616,510
Comprehensive area water and sewer planning grants to organizations.....			19	142,880
Watershed protection loans.....	0	0	2	465,000
Grand total, all types of loans and grants.....	9,953	34,399,091	14,333	129,719,947
Percent change in amount 1960 and 1967.....				277
II. Number of people using FHA credit during year.....	73,500		360,000	
III. Amount of loans written off as percent of total cumulative loan advances as of June 30 (current loan programs):				
Loan advances.....		\$463,326,958		\$1,010,287,613
Principal writeoffs.....		\$3,108,909		\$14,112,145
As percent of loan advances.....		0.67		1.40

#### PROGRAM ON ENVIRONMENTAL QUALITY CONTROL

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. President, in the last session of the 90th Congress, I introduced, along with the senior Senator from California, S. 2805 to provide for a Council on Environmental Quality in the Executive Office of the President, and also an expanded program of research on environmental problems. This bill was referred to the Senate Interior and Insular Affairs Committee, of which I am chairman.

In gathering background information for hearings to be scheduled later this year, the committee's professional staff noted that a growing body of literature and informed opinion is being addressed to the environmental theme as an important area of Federal and scientific responsibility. Citing the rapidity of environmental change in our country, strong pleas have been made in many technical writings for consideration of the total biophysical environment as an inte-

grated resources system. Administrative and policy issues relating to this proposition have been studied and discussed from several points of view, including those of natural resource management, landscape protection and beautification, urban design, public health, economic growth, and the assessment of technological innovations.

A growing consensus among many scientists supports the view that existing natural resource programs, highly fractionalized at the Federal and State levels, are inadequate to the task of mounting an effective and flexible attack on the overall problem of environmental deterioration. Carefully documented studies have concluded that it is now feasible and desirable to establish a high level body, representing both the social and natural scientists, which would assist the President in formulating sounder policies and coordinated programs to maintain the quality of our natural resources endowment.

I believe that the benefits such a body could bring to the conservation field, and thus to the welfare of this Nation, make its establishment urgently important.

Mr. President, with the assistance of the Legislative Reference Service the Interior Committee's staff has compiled a few extracts from selected writings and reports which describe various needs and ongoing programs and also propose several new solutions for achieving better controls over environmental change. I request unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD the text of this short report in the hope that it will receive wide attention from all groups and individuals who may be interested in presenting testimony or otherwise expressing their views on S. 2805.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SELECTED EXCERPTS ON ENVIRONMENTAL  
MANAGEMENT POLICY

(Compiled by Wallace D. Bowman, Specialist in Conservation and Natural Resources, Legislative Reference Service)

However plentiful our natural resources may be they are inadequate to satisfy all the demands placed upon them. An increasing number of scientists are becoming concerned about the declining quality of our total resources environment. Many who have written on the subject of environmental deterioration have discussed the increasing difficulties of anticipating the harmful side-effects of rapidly applied technology. Another concern running through many writings is the inadequacy of existing institutional machinery, both in the Federal structure and the scientific community-at-large, to appraise the overall needs of environmental quality control and to formulate sound national policies. Several possibilities for encouraging environmental surveillance and elaborating national environmental policy are set forth in the excerpts below.

"1. *Natural Resources, A Summary Report to the President of the United States, National Academy of Sciences-National Research Council, Committee on Natural Resources* (NAS-NRC Pub. No. 1000, 1962, pp. 18-19)

"Perhaps the most critical and most often ignored resource is man's total environment. Increasing awareness of the importance of understanding the balances of nature is reflected in the gradual development of interest in ecological studies. The study of the interaction of all biologic species, among themselves and with the inanimate forces of nature, requires coordination of the contributions of all the sciences, natural and social.

"The wisdom of examining environment in the totality of its interaction with man becomes increasingly apparent in view of the rapidity of environmental change in our country. We live in a period of social and technological revolution, in which man's ability to manipulate the processes of nature for his own economic and social purposes is increasing at a rate which his forebears would find frightening.

"Man is altering the balance of a relatively stable system by his pollution of the atmosphere with smoke, fumes, and particles from fossil fuels, industrial chemicals, and radioactive material; by his alteration of the energy and water balance at the earth's surface by deforestation, afforestation, cultivation of land, shading, mulching, over-grazing grasslands, reduction of evapotranspiration, irrigation, drainage of large swamp lands, and the building of cities and highways; by his clearing forests and alterations of plant surface cover, changing the reflectivity of the

earth's surface and soil structures; by his land-filling, construction of buildings and seawalls, and pollution, bringing about radical changes in the ecology of estuarine areas; by the changes he effects in the biologic balance and the physical relocation of water basins through the erection of dams and channel works; and by the increasing quantities of carbon dioxide an industrial society releases to the atmosphere.

"There is a continuing worldwide movement of population to the cities. The patterns of society are being rapidly rearranged, and new sets of aspirations, new evaluations of what constitutes a resource, and new requirements in both type and quantity of resources are resulting. \* \* \*

"In summary, it is apparent that man must concern himself with a variety of changes in the environment, both those caused by human beings and those reflecting man's responses. Some are good; some may be very harmful. That we often do not have any clear-cut idea of their impact on man, or of man's response, is cause for concern. It would seem unwise to continue to tamper with environment without, concurrently, striving to determine the real and lasting effects of our actions."

"2. Weiss, Paul, *Renewable Resources, A Report to the Committee on Natural Resources of the National Academy of Sciences-National Research Council* (NAS-NRC Publ. No. 1000A, 1962; pp. 2, 4, 15)

"The problems of renewable natural resources have been approached by two essentially different types of operations, one going on continuously, the other occurring in sporadic episodes. The former is carried on systematically as part of the mission of government departments or agencies (e.g., Department of Agriculture, Fish and Wildlife Service, Forest Service), certain foundations (e.g., Resources for the Future, Inc., Conservation Foundation, Nature Conservancy), and a few academic institutions. The latter is represented by individual conferences, surveys, and reports. These are mutually supplementary. The former suffers from preoccupation with narrow, segmental views of the total problem, but has the advantage of continuity and operational effectiveness in action programs; while the latter is essentially confined to evaluating and advisory functions, without power of implementation, but giving more balanced attention to the total perspective. Many of the current practices and the underlying guiding policies in the various sectors of the field have proved themselves by their past successes and, therefore, are becoming rather firmly established, formalized, and institutionalized. But their tested adequacy pertains to current conditions only. If these patterns were to be frozen and mechanically continued into the future, the whole system would lose its flexibility and become unfit to respond and adapt itself to the unpredictable evolutionary changes which the current conditions will undergo. Today's successes can thus become the very sources of the failures of tomorrow. The risks become even greater where the rigidity of established patterns is not only based on usage but incorporated in law. \* \* \*

"In view of the irreversibility of many actions that will be taken in our time (for instance, in the reallocation of land from forest to agriculture or from agriculture to industrial uses), it seems vital to establish without delay a broad-gauged agency charged with the continuing examination, identification, and assessment of changes in the natural resources picture, and of their potential effects upon each other and on the material and spiritual welfare of man in a free society. \* \* \*

"Such a body would function in essence as an intelligence agency in matters of human ecology. It should keep itself constantly informed of all physical, biological, sociological, geographic, and economic events and developments of potential bearing on

man's optimal adjustment to his environment, and attempt to evaluate in scientific terms the probable net effect of their mutual interactions on man's future—short-range and long-range—in national, regional, and global respects. In this pursuit, it should avail itself of the cooperation of the best talent of the country in the natural sciences and relevant branches of the social sciences. It should determine for any single alteration in the total scene—man-made or beyond man's control—the net balance between risk and benefit, not in absolute terms of the intrinsic properties of that particular change, but in relative terms of its putative consequences for the whole fabric of human affairs. In view of the ever-increasing rate of man-made alterations, with their ever-widening circle of sequelae, such an intelligence agency of broad scope would have to cultivate the highest degrees of perceptiveness and sensitivity so as to be able to feel the pulse of the ecosystem, as it were, and to register and assess incipient developments before they have reached critical dimensions. These diagnoses would then serve as guides for action programs, precautionary measures and the exploration of alternative courses. By its cultivation of a total integrative overview, such an organization would be in the most favorable position to detect signal gaps and incongruities in the map of existing knowledge in need of filling or reconciling by further research. And by its anticipatory point of view, it would be singularly qualified to identify what kinds of research might be undertaken or intensified in order to forestall, counteract or rectify predictable future disruptions and imbalances of the human ecosystem. The contemplated agency should not, however, be given powers of decision or enforcement and it should steer clear of the political arena."

"3. Commoner, Barry, *Science and Survival* (Viking Press, 1963, pp. 122-23)

"As a biologist, I have reached this conclusion: we have come to a turning point in the human habitation of the earth. The environment is a complex, subtly balanced system, and it is this integrated whole which receives the impact of all the separate insults inflicted by pollutants. Never before in the history of this planet has its thin life-supporting surface been subjected to such diverse, novel, and potent agents. I believe that the cumulative effects of these pollutants, their interactions and amplification, can be fatal to the complex fabric of the biosphere. And, because man is, after all, a dependent part of this system, I believe that continued pollution of the earth, if unchecked, will eventually destroy the fitness of this planet as a place for human life.

"My judgment of the possible effects of the most extreme assault on the biosphere—nuclear war—has already been expressed. Nuclear war would, I believe, inevitably destroy the economic, social, and political structure of the combatant nations; it would reduce their populations, industry and agriculture to chaotic remnants, incapable of supporting an organized effort for recovery. I believe that world-wide radio-active contamination, epidemics, ecological disasters, and possibly climatic changes would so gravely affect the stability of the biosphere as to threaten human survival everywhere on the earth.

"If we are to survive, we need to become aware of the damaging effects of technological innovations, determine their economic and social costs, balance these against the expected benefits, make the facts broadly available to the public, and take the action needed to achieve an acceptable balance of benefits and hazards. Obviously, all this should be done before we become massively committed to a new technology. One of our most urgent needs is to establish within the scientific community some means of estimating and reporting on the expected benefits and hazards of proposed environmental

interventions in advance. Such advance consideration could have averted many of our present difficulties with detergents, insecticides, and radioactive contaminants. It could have warned us of the tragic futility of attempting to defend the nation's security by a means that can only lead to the nation's destruction."

"4. Brooks, Douglas I. 'Environmental Quality Control' *Bioscience*, 17:12, Dec. 1967, pp. 873-877.

"Views of what we mean by the complex term 'environment' vary from person to person, group to group, and time to time, as do preferences regarding the meaning of quality control and methods for achieving it . . .

"First is the decay represented by the impoverishment of our resources. Two kinds of resources are involved here: essential resources such as food, minerals, water, and living space; and desirable resources such as wildlife, play space, walking space. . . .

"A second kind of decay is represented by the increasing level of pollution, noise, and ugliness within which we are being immersed. The evidence here is too well known to need elaboration.

"A third involves increasing crowding, congestion and hence conflict over incompatible uses of the environment. Let me mention only one, the competition for space between men and their cars. . . .

"The fourth variety of environmental decay manifests itself in the increasing depersonalization or 'thingification' of life, due to growth in size complexity, and ubiquity of cities, traffic, and mass communication media.

"Fifth, and finally, there is the environmental decay of potentially Wagnerian proportions, in which inadvertent and perhaps irreversible modification of the earth's weather and climate caused by man's activities could make all the other kinds of decay of only academic concern. The production of carbon dioxide by world-wide burning of fossil fuels promises, according to some, to so increase the 'greenhouse effect' of the heat absorbing constituents of the atmosphere that a worldwide climatic warming may take place, perhaps melting the Antarctic and Greenland icecaps and raising the sea level by a couple of hundred feet. Whether this will be in part counter-balanced or perhaps overbalanced by the solar radiation-reflecting effect of the increased cloudiness expected from air pollution is a moot question. . . . I believe the time has come to recognize environmental decay as an ubiquitous problem of unprecedented complexity and seriousness. We need to recognize environmental quality control as a vital social objective and take steps to establish the field of Environmental Management as a new cross-disciplinary applied science professional activity of extraordinary challenge and importance.

"In doing so, we can and should take advantage of the analogy provided by such precedents as military operations research and systems analysis. Five features of these precedents are especially important when taken in combination. They are:

"(1) The methodological and philosophical advances in the physical and mathematical sciences, begun by Boltzman and Gibbs and culminating in the work of Wiener, Shannon, and the cyberneticists, which permit the modeling of complex systems with inherent randomness and uncertainty and, in particular, the purposeful 'open systems' characterizing the human social half of the man-environment system,

"(2) The systems approach of operations research and systems analysis with its emphasis on rational decision-making models and techniques,

"(3) The new technology, particularly the new information system technology, based on the computer, which has already permitted spectacular advances in modeling one highly complex component of the environment, the atmosphere and its weather,

and the application of this technology to observational or environmental monitoring systems,

"(4) The establishment and linking together with the action agencies of government of three types of R&D institutions:

"(a) innovative, technology, or science-oriented laboratories, pushing the 'state-of-the-art.'

"(b) advisory 'think-tanks' of two sorts, one closely linked to the day-to-day or tactical decision problems of agencies, the other broadly chartered to study and advise on the long-term or strategic problems of Environmental Management.

"(5) The development and cultivation of an outlook which can best be described as ecological, or ecosystems oriented, an outlook which asks what stable and reciprocally-fit man/environment configurations are there and how are the consequences and side effects of actions and events at various levels, personal and social, industrial and governmental, likely to affect the prospects of achieving one or another of these configurations in the future?"

"5. Caldwell, Lynton K. 'Administrative Possibilities for Environmental Control', In *The Future Environments of North America* (Garden City, 1966, pp. 648-671)

"... [The] functional divisions of public administration impose formidable barriers to effective environmental policy. At the federal level, coordination of natural resources policies and their administration has long been a matter for study and concern. The National Resources Planning Board represented the closest approach to comprehensive environmental planning attempted for the nation as a whole. The Tennessee Valley Authority is, of course, an instructive example of comprehensive public environmental planning in action. But federal organization generally reflects the interests or needs of special resource users—in forestry, grazing, mining, navigation, irrigation, and outdoor recreation, for example.

"The principal but only partially effective coordinating agency in relation to these user interests has been the Bureau of the Budget. Its concerns, however, are primarily fiscal and secondarily economic (cost-benefit justification, for example). The Bureau is assumed to apply the over-all policy guidelines laid down by the President. In actual fact, presidential policy must often be a product of bargaining, maneuvering, and compromise among the federal administrative agencies. The Bureau's functions are largely political and, in a narrow sense, technical. It is seldom in position to provide the analysis and integration of substantive policy that environmental issues require. At best it may require the administrative agencies to iron out their differences and coordinate their efforts. Meanwhile the basic environmental issues at stake may never be posed; the questions that matter most may never be asked.

"The fact is that the federal government is not structured for the effective administration of complex environmental issues. Compensatory measures have been sought through legislation requiring joint consultation and planning in specified cases of natural resources administration. The effectiveness of these measures is difficult to assess. They represent an improvement in environmental policy making over the earlier exclusiveness and competitive behavior of the natural resource agencies. But they are palliatives rather than basic reforms, and their accomplishments are largely at the technical rather than policy level. Nevertheless these legislative requirements for interagency consultation evidence recognition of the need for coordination in environmental policies. These measures may prove to be transitional stages toward future and more fundamental reforms, but they do not answer the need for high-level-policy leadership . . .

"Before government can become generally

responsible for safeguarding the quality of the biophysical environment, at least three prerequisites must be met. These can be identified and described under the headings:

"a. vision and leadership,

"b. minimal consensus, and

"c. instrumental means.

"*Vision and Leadership.* The first of these prerequisites may be divided for discussion, but must be united for action. Someone must be able to visualize how society can deal comprehensively with its environment before the other prerequisites can acquire a practical relevance. This vision is less an act of individual inspiration than the slow and random accumulation of concepts and ideas from many sources that one day fall into place as a coherent and persuasive doctrine of social responsibility. To make this vision meaningful and to catalyze consensus is the function of leadership. This function is not only one of interpretation; it is also one of integration. The diversity of interests and values of people in relation to the biophysical environment are major factors in the fractionalizing of public responsibility. Comprehensive environmental policy becomes possible only when a sufficient number of these diversities and resulting conflicts are reconciled, adjusted, or transcended to permit the degree of consensus needed for public action.

"*Minimal Consensus.* The level of consensus necessary for public action will of course vary with the character of society, with the political situation, and with the issue upon which consensus is sought. Under effective authoritarian rule, minimal consensus may be very minimal indeed. In open, democratic, politically active societies, a large percentage of the population—perhaps a strong majority—must be agreed on basic legislative concepts. However, on specific issues, such as those affecting environments, agreement among small but relatively influential minorities may be sufficient for public action. The history of rivers, harbors, and reclamation projects illustrates the way in which the machinery of government can be mobilized on behalf of relatively local, minor, and short-term interests. It is also true that public action on behalf of unique habitats or specific natural areas and wildlife has often been the work of dedicated minorities. But for comprehensive public policies some breadth of popular consensus must be won. The efforts to enact the federal Wilderness Bill illustrate the ways in which a necessary minimal consensus is developed.

"Public action on behalf of these projects (good, bad, or indifferent) is possible because of a vague, inarticulate consensus that public "improvements" or conservation of resources are in the public interest. Lacking an adequate comprehension of ecological cause-and-effect relationships and of a strong or clearly defined concept of environmental values, Americans generally tend to be apathetic and uncritical in matters of environmental change. To arouse public interest, environmental issues have to be posed in most dramatic form, as in Rachel Carson's *Silent Spring*. Efforts to institute more comprehensive environmental policies and controls in government characteristically meet the concerted opposition of natural resource users whose economic interests are threatened, without gaining support from the public-at-large that is the intended beneficiary.

"Absence of consensus for comprehensive environmental policy is no more inherent in our social or political system than formerly was absence of consensus for old-age insurance, employment security, or space exploration. Prior to the forming of a minimal public consensus on these matters, their realization through public action seemed quite as hopeless as comprehensive environmental administration seems today. Crisis is often a creator of consensus, and ideas widely viewed as utopian may, under compelling conditions, become public demands. The eco-



conomic debacle of the early 1930s wrought changes in public opinion that made possible sweeping innovations in public law and policy for which only a few years earlier no popular consensus could be found.

"The crises of environmental change, however, tend to be 'quiet crises.' The more violent environmental catastrophes (fires, floods, droughts, and earthquakes) tend to be viewed as discrete events or 'acts of God,' and the remedies sought are characteristically directed to the event itself with little regard to the combination of circumstances which made the event, in man's view, a catastrophe. Thus, millions are spent in an ultimately futile effort to contain floods rather than to follow the less costly and more dependable course of environmental planning. But the more widespread and ultimately more disastrous environmental changes are those occurring so slowly and steadily as to escape attention until possibly irremedial harm is done. Cumulative environmental poisoning by wastes, pesticides, or radioactive materials proceeds in this unobtrusive manner. Soil erosion and depletion, disappearance of wildlife habitat, breakup of open space, spreading deterioration of settled areas both urban and rural are other examples of progressive environmental decline with which government, as now constituted, is poorly equipped to cope.

"*Instrumental Means.* The machinery of government may have been adequate to do what it was originally intended to do. But it falls short of adequacy in the performance of many of the tasks that confront it today. It has not, for example, been intended for the coordinated public management of the biophysical environment. Law and the weight of judicial precedent tend to favor particularist interests—ecological concepts and the public interest in its environment are as yet inadequately developed in American legal doctrine."

"6. Brewer, Michael, 'Resource Quality: New Dimensions and Problems for Public Policy,' In *Natural Resources: Quality and Quantity* (University of California, 1967, pp. 197-212)

"If natural resources are to be managed in conjunction with plans for economic growth or broad qualitative objectives, the programs and policies of the various action agencies must be coordinated. To achieve this, planning must be comprehensive enough to incorporate the programs of all the agencies concerned. Planning on a broad scope can best be accomplished in a single, central unit, which would provide guidelines for the policies and programs of the operational agencies.

"The functions of this resource analysis unit may be considered in two major categories. The first includes the following functions: (a) the identification of relevant problems for analysis; (b) the acquisition of adequate and timely data; (c) the competent performance of the research and analysis these problems involve; (d) the development of analytical methods and procedures that are relevant for the analysis of resource policies.

"A second category of functions is needed if the results of the analytical unit are to provide a basis for resource policy: (a) the assessment of the implications of such analysis for existing programs and policies; (b) the making of this information available to resource agencies and to the public; (c) the utilization of the information within the decision-making process.

"Performance of these functions requires certain properties or conditions within the analysis unit:

"1. A broad perspective must be established and maintained. The scope of concern must include all natural resources so that their interrelationships may be considered in the formulation and analysis of relevant problems. Such a scope has been approached

at the regional level in the development of plans for river-basin development, but it is not broad enough, in terms of the resources or the geographical areas considered, for the functions identified above.

"2. Long-run shifts in resource supply and demand and their relation to economic growth must be considered if federal research, development, and management are to elicit the greatest contribution from our natural resources. More research is needed on the timing of resource planning and management.

"3. Multidisciplinary skills are needed in the formulation of policies, and the interrelation among the physical, biological, and social sciences must be more clearly understood.

"4. There should be access to both governmental and nongovernmental analytical skills, facilities, and data.

"5. Specification of the research problem, selection of data, and interpretation of the analytical results should be objective and free from bias.

"One of the obstacles in achieving a research analysis unit is the unwillingness of the resource agencies to create a superauthority for planning, whether it be a department or an office under an independent authority. Another obstacle is the unwillingness of Congress to relinquish its traditional political role in specifying the alternatives for resource programs.

"The first obstacle may be likened to the difficulties encountered in proceeding from an oligopoly to a monopoly. The executive agencies have proceeded in a *quid pro quo* pattern in the past. Their relationships and alliances within the executive branch and with Congress have been predicated on this *modus operandi*. A new pattern of deciding what needs to be done and who will do it holds the threat of uncertainty for individual agencies. New lines of communication, bargaining, and mutual reinforcements would be required to protect and perpetuate agency interests.

"Similarly, Congressional objection stems from the threat of losing a historical position as initiator of policies for federal resource development. With the important exception of agriculture, legislative committees, including the substantive and appropriation bodies in both houses, have initiated federal policies on natural resources, thus reversing the traditional 'proposing' and 'disposing' functions of the executive and legislative branches.

"One significant distinction between the executive resource agencies dealing with resources and the Department of Agriculture has been the strong research tradition of the latter. Even before the organization of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, the Department fulfilled research functions greater in scope and with a more adequate technical staff than was true of the Department of Interior or other resource agencies. This strong research arm led to an intradepartmental analysis of problems and possible solutions that culminated in strong proposals for national policy. Other resource agencies, lacking the tradition, the proficiency, and the reputation for research of high professional quality, were handicapped in this regard.

"Furthermore, there was greater legislative interest in resource development programs than in agriculture. These programs meant brick-and-mortar projects with their immediate impact on local employment and prospects for tangible monuments to the beneficence of local representatives. This strong motivation for control over programs and policy initiatives by the legislative branch and the increasing competitiveness among the executive resource agencies led to an accumulation of power in the legislative domain. Paralleling this shift, the office of Secretary of the Interior has become less

effective in executive branch coordination for national resource policies. Indeed, since the 1930's this function has been increasingly taken over by the Budget Bureau. This unit, however, in the capacity of 'broker' for all administration policies, is not structured or staffed to perform this task for the natural resources sector.

"The inevitable result has been alliances between the individual resource bureaus and agencies and the legislative committees. The resulting proposals have often been initiated by the legislative bodies, fitted into the mission-oriented rationale of the resource agencies, and forwarded to the Budget Bureau. At this juncture the Budget Bureau attempts to transform the Administration's proposals into legislation. In the process there is substantial *quid pro quo* 'trading,' during which many of the original proposals may be scrapped. The important point, however, is that no coordinated set of proposals is considered and, of even greater importance, no overall guide for integrated development of resources emerges.

"While there are no indications that a central analysis unit will be established in the immediate future, several concrete steps recently taken show an awareness of the need for comprehensive, coordinated planning to deal with the problems of natural resources quality. These changes effectively broaden the scope of research in two important areas.

"Evidence of the first type of change may be found in the Bureau of Outdoor Recreation, initially established in 1961 to provide a 'secretariat' for the President's Recreational Resources Council. This Council, parallel in structure to the Water Resources Council, was comprised of the secretaries of the four resource departments and reported directly to the President. Staff for the agency was to be provided by the Bureau of Outdoor Recreation, housed in the Department of the Interior, but staffed by all departments represented on the President's Recreational Resources Council. Ambiguity in the wording of the executive order establishing the office made it uncertain whether the Bureau was to become an integral organ of the Interior Department, a multidepartmental entity reporting to the Council, with secondary responsibilities to all participating departments.

"Some of the original ambiguity has been clarified. The Bureau's budget became a separate item in the 1965 budget, and its staffing has proceeded independently of the Department of Agriculture, the Corps of Army Engineers, and the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. The Bureau of Outdoor Recreation seems to be evolving into an integral part of the Department of the Interior. Having no physical programs, the Bureau has been oriented toward the Office of the Secretary. Thus in its research function it will deal with problems relevant to the entire Department of the Interior. It remains to be seen whether it will make recommendations on the management of individual resources, such as water or grazing, which would unify the impact of various resources on recreation.

"A parallel development is the recent passage in the House of the Watershed Planning Act, which legitimizes the *ad hoc* Water Resources Council and provides a basis for the Council to assemble its own staff. Here again is the possibility of establishing research competence adequate to promulgate policies and guidelines for problems of resource quality.

"If this trend is continued, the executive branch should be able to initiate resource policies and programs that take explicit account of quality objectives. Federal policies for natural resources would then be more closely in line with those for agriculture, restoring the traditional function to the executive branch of the federal government.

"Simply to criticize existing policies and programs for their failure to stress the qual-

ity of natural resources is neither meaningful nor constructive. The present resource agencies are not well constituted to perform the research and planning needed to achieve a comprehensive program. The Administration appears to be building up research and planning competence in several interagency organizations. While this approach will help the federal establishment deal with qualitative problems, it does not seem fully adequate for coping with problems involving key programs in competitive departments. Problems of this type require an authority with super-cabinet status. Although other demands prevent the President from giving these issues more than a small percentage of his time, their political leverage is high—perhaps sufficiently so that these decisions will always remain a Presidential function."

"7. Long, Norton E. 'New Tasks for All Levels of Government' in *Environmental Quality in a Growing Economy* (Johns Hopkins Press, 1966, pp. 141-155)

"There is some evidence that the President is aware of the highly limited range of the indicators that are at present included in his reports to the Congress and the public. The statistics are narrowly economic and even narrow within economics. A State of the Union message that deals with a more inclusive and more broadly relevant body of data representing the human condition is badly needed. The philistinism that has concerned itself more with statistical accuracy than relevance, and that has eschewed the qualitatively significant for the quantitatively measurable, distorts the public definitions of the situations that confront us. We are in important ways the prisoners of the measures that now determine the facts we collect and hence the limited and peculiar range of facts to which we attend.

"Indicators of environmental quality need to be built into the national public reporting system at the Presidential level. This would be a major policy and institutional change, for it would place front and center a definition of what the situation is and what it is becoming. The fact that measurements cannot be precisely made is no excuse for not making them, especially if what is possible is vastly better than doing nothing. We need to realize that standards are tools that serve our purposes and are created out of human efforts. They do not emerge fully accredited from nature. To await such a miracle is to avoid the necessary political task of hammering out agreement on purposes and the necessarily imperfect, but improvable, means of their attainment."

"8. Beuscher, Jacob H. 'Some New Machinery to Help Do the Job' in *Environmental Quality in a Growing Economy* (Johns Hopkins Press, 1966, pp. 156-163)

[Commentary on Norton Long, see 7 above]

"We \* \* \* need within the Office of the President a Council of Environmental Advisers. As Professor Long indicates, the Office of the President is a logical center for a coordinated national reporting system on environmental quality. In the absence of such a co-ordinating mechanism, there will be separate caches of pertinent scientific, engineering economic, and other data in a number of agencies. Besides, as Professor Long also points out, standards and indicators of danger need to be evolved. As he says, they will not emerge fully accredited from nature. Where the environmental problem involves more than one bureau, as it often does, we cannot rely on separate agencies to cross bureaucratic lines. As technology constantly changes, we need to bring together related facts and set integrated standards. When line responsibilities are assigned to public agencies in the resource or environmental field the agencies become myopic to problems. They also are prone rather quickly to fill up the assigned regulatory field with lots of rules and regulations, and then to be rather

unresponsive to change indicated by new technological knowledge.

"So it would be well to have in the Office of the President a small group of highly trained scientists, economists, and public administration experts as technical integrators constantly checking with the data collectors, the analyzers, the certifiers, the standard makers and the regulators in the various federal agencies. They would keep a centralized bank of selected data, check out interrelationships that might escape the individual agencies and report to the President, thus making his pulpit more effective. They would also recommend to the President, as needed, the appointment of special task forces for particular environmental evaluations.

"Also needed at the national level, but outside government, is a foundation-financed Environmental Action Clearing House. Its library on environmental quality would be complete and current. Its reports would present in laymen's oversimplified terms central issues and problems in the field. It would be a source of up-to-date information about institutional experimentation and innovation in the field, including new administrative and legal techniques. For example, the latest information on open space easements, affluent charges, flood plain regulation, and scenic zoning would be available here."

"9. Report of the American Association for the Advancement of Science Committee to advise the board of directors concerning studies of chemical and biological agents that alter the environment, 1967

"For three billion years, life has developed in intimate relationship with its environment. The effectiveness of environment in sustaining abundant life has been based on its tendency to approximate an open thermodynamic steady state, using solar energy in the elaboration and recycling of nutrient materials. This pattern, essential to the future continuance and well-being of life, is vulnerable to human interference, whether for good or ill.

"In 1859, Darwin demonstrated that environmental conditions have exerted a selective influence on survival and reproduction. In 1863, Marsh produced evidence that man had become a major 'natural' force capable of profoundly modifying his environment and of lowering or destroying its potential. Man does modify the environment; he has to use it. But it is the only environment man has, and the long-term consequences of what man does are not always predictable. The accelerating and highly visible effects of human activity upon terrestrial space, soil, air, and water have now become matters of grave import.

"Man's relation to the environment is surely one of the most important problems facing society today. Yet these changes are still of limited public concern and have been given insufficient attention, especially by natural and social scientists.

"Constructive action will require a deeper understanding of cultural values and their change over time, motivational changes, and new institutions, for little can be effected through uncoordinated individual enterprise. Fortunately, the world's fundamental ecological system is sufficiently open and flexible to permit a range of choice in planning and policy making. Wise choices and social arrangements that assure their widespread adoption must rely upon sound and ample information from the natural and social sciences, widely disseminated.

"We therefore recommend the establishment by the AAAS of a continuing Commission on the Consequences of Environmental Alteration.

"One objective of the Commission on the Consequences of Environmental Alteration would be to facilitate the development of disciplined means of collecting information, planning, studying, and controlling large-

scale technological interventions into natural systems. For example, the Commission might establish committees of specialists to anticipate large-scale interventions or to detect them at an early stage, and might also consider the establishment of agencies for early recognition of unexpected effects. The Commission might thereupon undertake an inquiry into the proposed technological process to determine what information would be required to evaluate, in advance of enactment, the full range of effects of the proposed intervention.

"Another objective would be the development of suitable procedures to regulate large-scale experimentation that is likely to produce changes in the biosphere and atmosphere that would adversely affect other types of scientific research.

"In cases of technological intervention or large-scale scientific experimentation in which it is not possible to anticipate all of the consequences that might turn out to be harmful, suitable procedure would call for designing into the plan means of stopping the intervention or the experiment if damaging consequences begin to appear.

"A third objective of the Commission would be to foster increased understanding of and improved education about the environment and man's relation to it. Better understanding and education are desirable at several levels.

"Improved public understanding is essential, for successful methods of preventing great and perhaps irreversible damage to the environment will often require public financing and public acceptance, and may require changes in law or in social customs or institutions.

"At neither undergraduate nor graduate level are there now adequate opportunities for the study of the kind of problems with which the Commission would be concerned. In most cases, these problems do not fit into the confines of single disciplines. They are not currently 'fashionable' in science. Some are complicated and difficult. Sometimes it takes a long time to get answers to research questions. But the importance of the problems mentioned above is beyond question. One of the functions of the Commission will be to encourage colleges and universities to develop training opportunities and research arrangements appropriate for students who wish to work in this challenging area.

"Communication of information, research findings, and the analysis of problems to scientists will also be an objective of the Commission.

"One of the tasks of the Commission would be to review, keep informed about, and sometimes to help publicize or disseminate reports of studies conducted by the National Academy of Sciences, the Ecological Society of America, the Conservation Foundation, the National Audubon Society, the National Center for Atmospheric Research, the Environmental Science Services Administration, the U.S. Public Health Service, the U.S. Department of Agriculture, industrial laboratories, and other agencies that may be concerned.

"The Commission, perhaps itself or perhaps through specially appointed committees or panels, would conduct studies of particular problems.

"On occasion, it may be desirable for the Commission to make arrangements to have studies conducted by others. We recommend that the Board of Directors consider requesting the National Academy of Sciences to arrange a continuing study and scientific record of the effects of chemical and biological warfare agents on soil, biota, and human health.

"If the Commission is to be effective, it is essential that the Association provide a staff aide who is professionally qualified.

"Membership of the Commission should be broadly representative, for the problems it

takes up should be considered from social and esthetic as well as scientific and technical points of view.

"Both continuing financial support for the Commission and its staff and special financing for particular studies will be required.

"The Commission should be able to call upon the other resources of the Association. One means of communication to scientists would be through symposia at the Association's meetings. One possibility would be to organize symposia that would bring together the interests and resources of several disciplines in the analysis of the manifold effects the automobile is having on the environment. Similarly, other products or developments that have brought about widespread changes in the environment could be analyzed in public symposia."

"10. *Special Analyses, Budget of the United States 1969: Analysis J*—"Federal Research, Development, and Related Programs", p. 141 (U.S. Government Printing Office, 1968)

#### "ENVIRONMENTAL QUALITY"

"Increased attention is being given to the review and evaluation of the total Federal effort related to control and abatement of pollution. The ongoing Federal effort in 10 agencies involves approximately \$250 million for research, development, and demonstration work relating to the control of pollution. In April 1967 a Committee on Environmental Quality was established by the Federal Council for Science and Technology. The Office of Science and Technology, with the assistance of this Committee, will give additional attention to balance and priorities in scientific and technical aspects of Federal programs. Also advice will be provided by a continuing Panel on the Environment which is being established by the President's Science Advisory Committee."

#### EDUCATIONAL TELEVISION

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. President, KFME, an educational television station operating on channel 13 serving a large area of eastern North Dakota, is celebrating 4 years of great service to this area. Through the schools, colleges, as well as television sets in the home of citizens in this broad area, KFME has been a dynamic force for the education of our people.

Information, education and improvement have been the stock in trade which this television service has offered to our people while operating on a budget that is pale in comparison to other efforts in this area. To those who have donated so much of themselves to make this station a reality at its inception as well as continually improving in its development, we should take the time to pay special tribute.

#### MILITARY GRANT AND SALES POLICIES IN LATIN AMERICA

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, yesterday I inserted in the RECORD two excellent articles on U.S. military grant and sales policies in Latin America. The articles appeared in the Washington Post over the byline of John M. Goshko.

Mr. Goshko's third and last article is up to the high standard of his first two articles.

I ask unanimous consent that this article in the Washington Post of February 6, 1968, be inserted in the RECORD at this point.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington Post, Feb. 6, 1968]  
SHIFT BY UNITED STATES IS CRITICIZED—JET DEALS SNARL LATIN POLICY  
(By John M. Goshko)

LIMA.—Defense Secretary Robert S. McNamara had some soothing words not long ago for Congressmen who feared the Alliance for Progress might fall victim to a Latin American arms race.

Testifying before the House Appropriations Committee last April, he said: "We have sought, with considerable success, to avoid diversion of Latin American resources to the creation or support of unnecessarily large or sophisticated military forces."

A Defense Department "fact sheet" issued later said: "The Latin American nations have not been acquiring large amounts of heavy equipment. In contrast to most other areas of the world, there are no supersonic aircraft in Latin America."

Now, less than a year later, these reassurances echo mockingly over the shambles of U.S. arms policy toward Latin America. At home and abroad, it has been charged that this policy is inconsistent, hypocritical and at cross-purposes with professed U.S. support of the Alliance.

In Congress, the controversy became so heated that it threatened to scuttle the whole foreign aid bill. The legislation that finally emerged is so imprecise about future arms shipments to Latin America that aid and policy administrators say they don't understand what it means.

#### LATINS TO GET JETS

The blowup was triggered by the news that Peru plans to buy 12 to 16 supersonic French Mirage jets, that Brazil is almost certain to do the same and that Argentina is negotiating for modern French AMX-30 tanks.

In reacting to the challenge of the French arms industry, the Johnson Administration has seemed to critics to be abandoning past U.S. efforts to keep sophisticated weaponry out of Latin America.

Suddenly, Washington reversed a long-standing ban on the sale of the Northrop supersonic F-5 Freedom Fighter to Latin air forces. While Administration spokesmen deny that this signaled a switch in policy, they concede that the F-5 embargo was lifted in hopes of blocking France's invasion of the Latin arms field.

They see a danger of Latin armed forces' turning increasingly to France and other European arms vendors. And this, they warn, would shatter the monopoly that the U.S. has held since World War II over the training and advising of Latin military forces.

#### PRICE FOR COLLABORATION

Their argument amounts to an acknowledgment that the U.S. must pay the price of military assistance for the political collaboration of the Latin armed forces. In the eight years since Fidel Castro came to power in Cuba, Washington has given high priority to maintaining the Latin military as a force capable of checking Castroite subversion in the Hemisphere.

Opponents of this thesis say that if the purpose of close ties with the Latin military is to strengthen its capacity to fight guerrillas, the Latins should be equipping themselves primarily with such counterinsurgency weapons as small arms, grenades, jeeps and helicopters.

#### SEE SELVES AS DEFENDERS

There has not been a war between two Latin American countries since 1942, and observers discount the probability of another. But this has not stopped most Latin military leaders from nourishing the fiction of the danger of invasion by hostile neighbors. Thus they emphasize buying planes, tanks and warships—things that gratify their pride.

U.S. policy-makers have long anticipated that some modernization of the Latin arsenal would become inevitable as old equipment

requires replacement. The question is whether U.S. efforts to be accommodating can be kept to reasonable levels.

State Department and Pentagon officials quote statistics to show that the Latin arms race is really an "arms crawl." They note that the region's combined defense expenditures currently average only 12.7 per cent of total government expenditures. Of the combined Latin defense budgets, only 10 per cent—about \$200 million—goes for military hardware.

#### U.S. RESTRICTIONS

The U.S. Congress has set a ceiling on the total value of military assistance and sales, exclusive of training. Including training activities, the U.S. military assistance package in Latin America is now running about \$98 million annually. This figure will drop during the coming year because the current aid bill cuts the statutory ceiling from \$85 million to \$75 million.

This, officials point out, is only about 7 per cent of all U.S. foreign military assistance and only 7 per cent of total U.S. aid to Latin America. The statistics, they say, hardly support the conclusion that the U.S. is unduly abetting an arms race.

A reply might be that Latin America's social and economic ills are as large as the amount of money available to cure them is small and that siphoning millions of dollars away from urgent social problems into arms buying makes the Alliance for Progress meaningless.

#### BROTHER OFFICERS

Most U.S. military advisers have a "brother" officers sympathy with the Latins' desire for advanced equipment—regardless of its utility.

Since the French began flirting with the Latin military, many U.S. advisers have also argued that the U.S. stands to lose the financial benefits of Latin arms sales. The reaction in Latin America has been to decry the "hypocrisy" of the United States in rushing forward with supersonic planes when it appears the money will go to Paris rather than Washington.

All this has increased the number of critics, especially in Congress, who believe that the attempt to stay out in front of competing arms merchants can only increase the Latin military's power at the expense of the Alliance for Progress. Many think the U.S. should refuse to sell Latin America anything but internal-security weapons. Some even want to discourage Latin countries that persist in buying planes, ships and tanks by refusing them credit assistance and by making reductions in nonmilitary aid.

A watered-down version of this idea, directing President Johnson to cut aid to countries whose arms purchases he deems "excessive," is written into the current foreign aid bill. But because it falls to spell out standards for excessiveness, its main effect seems to have been to cause confusion in policy-making circles.

Most U.S. officials look with dismay at the use of aid as a lever for holding down the arms race. They think it would cause the proud Latin military to become more stubborn and accelerate its movement away from U.S. influence.

#### DISSENTING VIEW

Advocates of a tough line concede that punitive aid reductions would cause some hard feelings, and that civilian government programs would be penalized by disciplinary moves aimed at the military.

But, in the long run, they believe the military would also feel the pinch. Until the armed forces are willing to accept a reduction of their powers, they say, chances of making real progress in Latin America will be minimal, anyhow.

These critics are not disturbed by fears that France or other nations might replace the U.S. as mentor of Latin armed forces.



Nicaragua is known as the land of lakes and volcanoes. Its western coast consists of high rolling hills which are basked in the breeze that prevails most of the year, making a land delightful in which to live as well as productive for the raising of beef, the growing of sugar, tobacco, coffee, and, of course, its most important crop, cotton.

The Great Lakes of Managua and Lake Nicaragua, of which the latter is the largest lake in the Western Hemisphere south of our own Great Lakes, provide not only great natural beauty, but transportation and pleasure for a great number of Nicaraguans and tourists who visit this beautiful country yearly.

The Capital is near the Pacific Ocean about an hour's drive through the mountains, to beaches of great beauty and clear Pacific waters. The natural port of Corinto is a major port in this country. From here a great road has been built to span the continent.

The President and I drove from Managua east through the town of Rama to the Siquia River, a great natural waterway, which is fully navigable by the largest of ocean vessels and with the dedication of this famous bridge, the largest in the country, was the fulfillment of a promise made three decades ago from one great President of the United States to a great President of Nicaragua. This structure is symbolic of the golden spike driven in our transcontinental railroad announcing to the world that the east and west coasts of America were joined. Here, too, in Nicaragua both coasts are now joined by the Rama Road, a magnificent highway with all water barriers spanned by steel bridges capable of carrying the largest of highway motor vehicles.

I am happy to include the remarks of my good friend, President Anastasio Somoza Debayle, a friend of long standing through high school and through his 4 years as a cadet at the Military Academy at West Point. It was thrilling to me personally as I know it would be to all Americans to witness his dedication of this historic link of the Atlantic with the Pacific oceans.

Our Assistant Secretary of State for Latin American Affairs, Covey T. Oliver, and Senator SPESARD L. HOLLAND were the official U.S. representatives and added much to the occasion which was viewed by thousands of Nicaraguan citizens whose faces reflected the admiration of satisfaction in seeing a lifetime's work brought to fulfillment. There is no doubt that the confidence reflected in the following words of General Somoza are indicative of the attitude of all Americans in their search for the greater development of our continent.

The address follows:

Honorable Presidents of the Legislative, Judicial and Electoral Powers; honorable Secretaries and Under-Secretaries of State; honorable Members of the Diplomatic Corps; honorable Presidents of the Autonomous Entities; distinguished friends of the United States of North America headed by Dr. Covey T. Oliver, Under-Secretary of State for Latin American Affairs; dear friends of the Siquia and Rama Region; courteous listeners of the nation, it was a Nicaraguan, José Santos Zelaya, with the help and courage of Rigoberto Cabezas, who liberated

the fertile lands of the Atlantic Coast from the hands of colonialism. It was another Nicaraguan, Anastasio Somoza García, who with the help of that noble statesman Franklin Delano Roosevelt incorporated this region politically and spiritually to traditional Nicaragua.

Roosevelt was a great man, a statesman with ample vision, whose worries were never the construction of big buildings, but the welfare of nations and men, and especially those who, although weak, were strong in their desire to enrich their life. This is why Roosevelt who helped General Somoza García so much will always live in the heart of the Nicaraguan people.

Roosevelt understood clearly the need for mutual respect among peoples and nations, the respect of the strong countries and the right of the weak ones to live in peace and liberty. He realized with his wide statesman's vision that Nicaragua needed a link between the Pacific and the Atlantic.

The tragic events of the Second World War prevented us from realizing our fluvial communication. President Roosevelt making use of the special powers that the President of the United States has in times of war, ordered the construction of this highway that we are honored to inaugurate today in behalf of the great people of the United States and of the great people of Nicaragua, who have always been on the side of the Northern Nation in its fight for peace, liberty, democracy and justice in this world and especially in this Hemisphere.

The majority here present and most of our listeners were not living twenty-five years ago. But Divine Providence, and Somoza's and Roosevelt's desire to do good have permitted us to carry on this work of inter-oceanic communication in order that a nation desiring to progress and to improve its standard of living may pioneer and cultivate the lands of this fertile region.

If the majority here present and most of our listeners were not here twenty-five years ago, they have now the pleasure and satisfaction to witness the official inauguration of this magnificent highway. The honor to inaugurate it has fallen upon a citizen who twenty-five years ago did not know these regions either, until the late General Somoza García told him, "Lieutenant Somoza, you are going to be my driver during this tour that is for the purpose of incorporating the Atlantic Coast into Nicaragua and the general progress of our nation."

You, my dear friends of these regions, struggle today for a better life with a "machete", a hatchet and a plow. A quarter of a century ago, while I chaffered the traveling vehicle of the giant Anastasio Somoza García and Ambassador James Steward, representative of that colossus that is the United States, I had an extremely difficult time. It was a real hardship to satisfy that Leader.

For General Somoza García to reach Rama was something inevitable. It was like thirsty cattle looking for water. Because Somoza was searching for better opportunities so that his people could have more work, progress, welfare and happiness. He never ceased in his effort to bring into reality the idea to incorporate to the national life the citizens of the Atlantic Coast who up to then had been forgotten, in spite of the fact that the vastness of this region constitutes a real spiritual treasure and a great source of material wealth for Nicaragua.

Gentlemen:

The Under Secretary of State for Latin American Affairs, Mr. Covey T. Oliver, has stated that he has come in representation of the disciple of Franklin Delano Roosevelt, who was the greatest man that man has produced in this century, the man who while in power, so well represented the interests of the less fortunate, who although small

for their material weakness, are great in their desire for improvement.

Echoing the words of Mrs. Oliver, I wish to express in a similar manner that as the son of the man who conceived, negotiated, initiated payment and began to bring this highway into reality for the happiness of the Nicaraguan people, it is for me a privilege to inaugurate it officially.

This highway, my fellow citizens, is the product of mutual effort, of a spiritual identity, of a fraternity of ideas. It is a result of the combined labor of the people of two nations who believe in the liberty and dignity of man.

As the son of the man who initiated this work, it is an honor for me to mention all those who collaborated to make this highway a reality of great future achievements. Because without gratitude there is no spiritual progress in society, there are no fulfilled human virtues.

As President of the Nicaraguan people and son of General Somoza García I want to express in public our deep appreciation to the American people for the help we have received for the happy conclusion of this highway and to the great North American leaders like Franklin Delano Roosevelt and President Lyndon B. Johnson represented today by Mr. Covey T. Oliver, Representative Murphy and particularly Senator Holland who I am happy to present to you as he has come especially for this inauguration and has helped us for 15 long years in the United States Senate to continue the financing of the construction of this highway.

At the same time, I wish to express my gratitude to the Nicaraguan and North American engineers who have participated in the construction of this interoceanic way, especially Mr. Constantino Lacayo Fiallos, Mr. Thomas McDonald, Mr. James Adams, Mr. Hans Berger, Mr. Shaefer, Mr. Brown, Mr. Linning, Mr. McIntyre, Mr. Daniels and Mr. Rodolfo Zúñiga.

Dear fellow citizens:

We all know that with the official inauguration of this highway we have concluded a magnificent work. Nevertheless, sometimes we do not realize the human and spiritual effort that such a work entails.

Today, gentlemen, we participated in the realization of a great dream. A dream that Zelaya started to realize with the political annexation of the Atlantic Coast and that Somoza García finished by incorporating this part of the country physically, commercially, and economically with the help of our friends of the North, the United States of North America.

Thank you.

#### GREATER PUBLIC PUSH IS NEEDED IN POLLUTION FIGHT

Mrs. BOLTON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Ohio?

There was no objection.

Mrs. BOLTON. Mr. Speaker, on Sunday, January 28, the Cleveland Plain Dealer devoted its entire editorial page to the subject of air and water pollution.

The magnitude of this problem is so great that it is going to take concerted action on the part of all levels of government—local, State, and Federal—in order to achieve results. The Plain Dealer has very aptly pointed out that "to get that action, the public will have to demand it."

Because of the great interest in this

subject, I am including the editorial page herewith as part of my remarks:

**GREATER PUBLIC PUSH IS NEEDED IN POLLUTION FIGHT**

The nation has walked long enough down the anti-pollution road. It's time to start running.

Despite millions poured into air and water pollution abatement since America woke up to the dangers of environmental poisoning in the 1950s, the quality of our air and water has not improved.

The millions were well-spent, keeping deterioration of the environment from becoming infinitely worse.

But new sources of pollution arising from a fast-growing population and soaring industrial activity have kept the nation on a treadmill.

There are hopeful signs that the nation is ready for the run:

Public pressure has produced federal water pollution control legislation which is forcing the states to establish water quality criteria. The next battle will be in enforcement. Will it be effective enough to see that the goals are achieved?

New federal legislation on air pollution control finally recognizes that protection of our air is a national responsibility.

There are signs that the Ohio government is beginning to meet its responsibilities in air and water management.

The legislature last year strengthened water pollution controls and put the state for the first time into air pollution control. It also moved to upgrade solid waste disposal practices with the likelihood that the days of open burning and open dumping of garbage and trash are numbered.

The Ohio Water Pollution Control Board, in response to public prodding, appears to be getting tougher in its enforcement program. But it has a long way to go.

Under a bond program proposed by Gov. James A. Rhodes the state, for the first time, will help municipalities build and expand sewage treatment plants. State willingness to assist in financing will result in increased federal participation, which will be of great benefit to the cities.

An Ohio Water Development Authority proposed by the governor is an imaginative program that would help solve the perplexing problem of treating industrial wastes.

The Ohio Water Commission, an arm of the Department of Natural Resources, has developed for northwest Ohio what may be the best long-range plan for water use that has been formulated anywhere in the nation.

The key to success of any of these programs is public support and public pressure.

The universal desire for clean water and air, unspoiled open spaces, green parks and some beauty in physical surroundings, and the universal repugnance toward unsightly dumps, noise, ravaged hillsides and billboard clutter must be voiced clearly, forcefully and often.

Public clamor moves legislators to enact laws and appropriate funds needed to implement them. It gives administrators the fortitude for enforcement in the face of strong counter-pressures for delays.

In response to strong demand, political action can achieve the application of the technology that already exists, but has not been used, to solve a good many of our pollution problems.

It is, of course, costly to build sewage systems and to install air scrubbers in factories. And, faced with the prospect of costly outlays, it is relatively simple, as a New Jersey air pollution official put it, "to engage in excessive procrastination."

The nation, however, can no longer afford to procrastinate. Deterioration of our environment has become one of our most pressing domestic problems and is adversely affecting the physical and mental health of

its citizens. If it goes unchecked, it could threaten man's very existence.

A task force on environmental health problems appointed by retiring Secretary John W. Gardner of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare reached two important conclusions early in its study.

The first was that the contamination which man creates can be corrected if technological genius is brought to bear on the problems.

The second was that action cannot wait until technology solves all the problems. Action must be taken now, on the knowledge now available, while better answers are being sought.

We would reiterate a third conclusion: To get that action, the public will have to demand it.

**ENVIRONMENT: MAN IS KEY TO BALANCE**

Human ecology is a term heard increasingly in discussions of conservation. It is the study of the interaction of man and his environment.

Disturbance of one aspect of the environment can have a deleterious effect on another—to man's ultimate sorrow.

Leveling a forest or overgrazing grassland can lead to floods or duststorms. Draining and "developing" an estuary can ruin aquatic breeding grounds and lose a fishery. Spraying DDT to control mosquitoes can kill a town's cats and bring on an invasion of typhus-carrying rodents.

There are 18 federal agencies alone—and numerous state and city agencies—dealing with one or another environmental problem—erosion of soil, air and water pollution, insecticides, protection of fish and wildlife.

There is no one body to take an overall look at what is happening to our environment and to give guidance on what should be done to correct or forestall imbalances.

The nation needs such a body—a Council of Ecological Advisers as proposed by an HEW environmental task force, or a Council of Environmental Quality as proposed in a Senate bill sponsored by Sens. Henry M. Jackson, D-Wash., and Thomas Kuchel, R-Calif.

The purpose of either would be to advise the President and Congress of the state of the environment, the changes taking place and the consequences of these changes.

A council composed of men knowledgeable in the disciplines of biology, conservation, economics, physics, psychology, engineering and the like would be able to formulate broad policies to guide the nation.

If it could not reach consensus on what everyone would find a "good" environment, it could at least agree on environmental conditions that would be "bad" and this would provide the basis for intelligent selections of alternatives for protection of our resources.

A council could achieve greater coordination and cooperation between agencies charged with environmental protection and increase the wisdom with which natural resources are managed.

Creation of a council must get the immediate and serious attention of Congress because of the rapid changes taking place in environmental conditions.

Some of the changes threaten to go far beyond the poisoning of water and air with unnatural chemicals.

The American Association for the Advancement of Science was warned in December that the tremendous increase in fuel consumption in this century is pouring carbon dioxide and other gasses into the environment faster than soil and oceans can assimilate them. At the same time, grassland and trees, which supply oxygen to the atmosphere, are being removed for paving (in the United States, at the rate of one million acres a year), threatening a decrease in the oxygen content of the air. There is evidence that the oxygen content already may be declining in our largest cities.

This is an ecological problem of the greatest magnitude, one that needs searching inquiry and an answer that could transcend ecology and enter the realm of social and religious attitudes. The answer could be that not so much the environment, but man, himself—the other end of the ecological balance—must be controlled in numbers if he is to continue to exist.

**THE PROBLEM OF SEWAGE: REGIONAL POWER NEEDED**

Treatment of organic and industrial wastes is poorly done in the Cleveland area. The murky, stained waters of the Cuyahoga River, the high bacteria counts in this and other rivers and in Lake Erie measure the failures.

There are many reasons for the inefficiency—treatment plants of inadequate capacity, absence of sewers in some areas and leaching into water courses of effluent from septic tanks, gaps in jurisdiction, poor control by the county of plants under its authority, combined storm and sanitary sewers.

To its credit, Cleveland is spending millions to upgrade its sewage treatment plants and a marked improvement in water quality should result.

But the single step that offers the best hope of overall improvement in waste treatment efficiency would be to put sewage collection, treatment and financing on a regional basis.

There are many excellent arguments for establishing a regional clean water authority:

It could work toward coordinated and central treatment of wastes, which is a much better system than haphazard treatment by numerous small plants. River water in some highly populated, highly industrialized valleys in Europe is cleaned and reused over and over but the rivers remain reasonably free of impurities. Central treatment makes it possible—that and close organization of water users throughout the watershed.

A regional authority could plan, build and operate systems crossing many political jurisdictions, any one of which might now block progress by refusing to go along with a project.

It would make financing problems much easier to solve, and financing is one of the great hurdles that must be leaped before real progress is made in water cleanup. Cleveland now processes sewage from many suburbs, which is a step in the right direction. But this entails difficult negotiations between government units on service charges. Coming capital improvements, such as suburban trunk interceptor sewers now under design, will make equitable financing increasingly more difficult to achieve, unless it is done by a regional authority with powers to tax, to issue bonds, to build and to operate sewers and treatment plants.

A regional authority would be better able to attract and hold the skilled personnel needed to operate the complex biological and hydraulic system that a modern treatment plant has become.

A single authority would eliminate present gaps in jurisdiction or responsibility that allow sloppy operation and maintenance of some treatment plants. Such a gap permitted one package plant in Middleburg Heights to become inoperative for a period last summer, and raw sewage poured into a tributary of the Rocky River, already grossly polluted from Bereau downstream.

One authority would improve enforcement of state antipollution regulations. A combined storm and sanitary sewer in the Flats has a storm sewer outfall in Cuyahoga Heights. It runs constantly although it should overflow only in periods of rain. Out of it flows a multihued effluent—now bright yellow, now red—which pours into the Cuyahoga River. Obviously there is something wrong. An overflow structure deep down in the sewer may have become corroded and inoperative. Who should check it and order

repairs? Obviously, some industrial wastes are bypassing treatment and going directly to the river. What are they? Where do they come from? Who should find out? A regional authority could provide the answers.

Ideally, a regional authority would be of a size to control waste treatment throughout the watersheds draining the metropolitan district.

But, practically speaking, an authority with such a reach could be difficult to attain. It would be a major triumph of government if a regional authority covering only Cuyahoga County could be achieved.

#### IN THE AIR: LOCAL CONTROL BEST HOPE

Federal and state governments are moving into air pollution control, but the best chance you have of improving the quality of the air you breathe is to improve the performance of control programs at the local level.

That is because both federal and state programs are structured to rely heavily on local governments for the support it will take to make control programs effective.

This is the picture:

The feds are there in the background, researching air pollution problems, advising cities on how to establish effective controls, and now, since legislation enacted last year, putting the heat on state governments to establish air quality standards and enforcement programs with the threat that if the states do not, the feds will.

Ohio has set up an air pollution board, also in legislation enacted last year. It will prescribe air quality standards in regions around the state and the first region it should look into is the Cleveland metropolitan area, which has the worst pollution problem. Then it will decide how much smoke, dust and polluting gases an industry may be allowed to throw into the air so that the air quality standards can be achieved.

In all probability, the state will arrive at its determination of air quality standards by conducting hearings in the regions to find out what the conditions are and what the public wants them to be.

Industry will be represented at the hearings, because it has a big stake in the outcome. The higher the standards, the more it will have to spend on control equipment.

Who will speak for the public? There isn't much expertise around about air pollution, but what there is is concentrated in governmental pollution control organizations.

In the Cleveland area, that means the Division of Air Pollution Control in the Cleveland Department of Health and Welfare.

Is it ready for the challenge? We think it is not.

Only this division is equipped to find out with some precision the quality of air in Cleveland, and it has failed shamefully to do so.

Cleveland received a federal grant of \$104,760 in 1965 for a three-year study of air quality. It was to set up 30 stations around the city to measure the gross soot and dust which falls from the air, the fine particles of smoke and fumes which hang suspended, and the invisible pollutants such as sulfur dioxide gas, nitrogen oxides, aldehydes, hydrogen sulfide and ozone.

It has measured dustfall and at some stations the finer particles called particulates.

But Cleveland is just getting into gas measurements and not at 30 stations, but at six, and not every other day, but only twice a week.

With the health of the public at stake, the division cannot let the excuse of inability to find personnel stand in the way.

Beyond its duty to measure pollutants, the division has the major responsibility for enforcement. There is an obvious need for improvement here. The Cleveland metropolitan area is ranked by the National Cen-

ter for Air Pollution Control as the fifth worst in the nation in air pollution problems.

It is high time for a review of Cleveland's performance in air pollution control and of its standards, which can be higher than whatever are adopted for the state and nation.

#### IN THE WATER: OHIO COULD BE LEADER

Ohio's soft enforcement policy in water pollution control has left too large a gap between actual and desired water quality, but the state has shown imagination in two areas of water management and use.

The first is in planning for future water development. The Ohio Department of Natural Resources and its water planning arm, the Ohio Water Commission, with the help of engineering consultants, have developed for northwestern Ohio a thorough, far seeing plan of action aimed at providing water of the quality and quantity that will be needed in the years ahead.

The plan specifies the number and location of the reservoirs that will be required to catch and hold precious rainwater. It foresees use of Lake Erie water to supplement flow of sluggish flatland streams and suggests when and where pipelines should be constructed. It envisions tapping underground water supplies to supplement surface water. It outlines a timetable of improvements to municipal sewage treatment plants, upgrading treatment from primary to secondary stages and finally to a third stage.

The plan considers all uses of water throughout the watershed—drinking supplies, industrial, agricultural and recreational. It considers need for flood control and improvement of stream quality by releasing stored water or adding oxygen with aeration devices.

The impoundments it suggests are multipurpose. A reservoir now under design for example, will supply water to a town and also a waterfowl breeding marsh. And it will be built to encourage fish life by providing stepped ledges and rockpiles on which they may lay eggs.

What is more, the plan considers not just the needs but practical ways in which the needs can be met. Legislation approved last year gives the Natural Resources Department power to build the impoundments, to drill the wells and to work out financing arrangements with the water users.

Similar plans will be developed in other Ohio areas. Northeastern Ohio is expected to be the next target.

Ohio's second imaginative program is Gov. James A. Rhodes' proposed Ohio Water Development Authority. This is a governmental tool for getting done efficiently and equitably a job that needs to be done—the treatment of industrial wastes.

The authority would finance, build and operate facilities for groups of industrial firms, and perhaps even municipalities, and would recoup the costs through charges to users.

Both this proposal, which should be approved by the legislature, and the long-range plans of the Ohio Water Commission have received acclaim from the Federal Water Pollution Control Administration, the federal agency most concerned with water cleanup.

Their implementation could give Ohio national leadership in the drive for improved water quality.

#### CONGRESSIONAL REFORM

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there

objection to the request of the gentleman from Missouri?

There was no objection.

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, it has been my pleasure to serve on the Joint Committee on the Organization of Congress. With the Honorable THOMAS CURTIS and Honorable JAMES CLEVELAND we have had the privilege of representing the House Republicans on this committee.

Other Republican Members have joined us in urging the Democrat leadership to report the Senate-passed bill out of the Rules Committee so that the House could work its will upon the bill and thus satisfy the public demand that congressional reform be enacted. Now of course, not every Member is in complete agreement with the Senate-passed bill. However, Mr. Speaker, there is a need to get the package before our body so we can work our will, and work out these differences on the floor of the House.

To this end of finalizing congressional reform, the Republican Task Force on Congressional Reform was established. The chairman is the Honorable JAMES CLEVELAND of New Hampshire, and the task force is composed of 17 other Republican Members, including myself. This task force has just completed a comparison of the various congressional reform bills including the Joint Committee's Senate-passed version (S. 355). It is my privilege to be the leadoff man and insert that part of the comparison that relates to section 102. My fellow colleagues on the task force will subsequently insert the other sections of the comparison for the benefit of all Members interested in responsible, progressive reorganization of the Congress and its related agencies.

Mr. Speaker, I include the following in the RECORD:

Sec. 102(a). Calling of meetings.

S. 355—Makes applicable to the Senate the procedure presently provided by House Rules for calling of a special committee meeting upon written request of a majority of the committee. In the absence of the chairman, senior majority party member present shall preside.

Bolling—Same. Reid—Same. Print No. 3—Same.

See Final Report page 8: "1. The present rule that each standing committee shall fix regular weekly, biweekly, or monthly meeting days for the transaction of business, and that additional meetings may be called by the chairman shall be amended to conform with the House rule on the same subject so that a majority of the membership of the committee may call a meeting if the chairman fails or refuses to do so. 2. If the committee chairman is not present at a meeting of the committee, the most senior majority member present shall preside."

S. 355 retains original bill language.

Sec. 102(b). Open business meetings and public announcement of committee votes.

S. 355—Provides that business meetings of committees shall be open to the public except during executive sessions for marking up bills, or for voting, or when the committee by a majority vote orders an executive session. Requires announcement in the committee report of each roll call vote on a measure, including the votes of individual members, unless the result of such vote was previously announced by the committee.

Bolling—Same. Reid—Same. Print No. 3—Provides just the opposite in assuring that all committee meetings are to be closed unless specifically opened to the public by a majority vote of the committee. Provides for

neers, Department of the Army, together with accompanying papers and illustrations, on an interim survey of Beaver Brook Dam and Reservoir, Keene, N.H., requested by a resolution of the Committee on Public Works of the U.S. Senate, adopted October 3, 1960.

I ask unanimous consent that the report be printed as a Senate document, with illustrations, and referred to the Committee on Public Works.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

### BILLS INTRODUCED

Bills were introduced, read the first time, and, by unanimous consent, the second time, and referred as follows:

By Mr. FONG:

S. 3021. A bill for the relief of Melicio Ulep; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BYRD of West Virginia:

S. 3022. A bill for the relief of Cong Tsz Ying; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. HOLLAND:

S. 3023. A bill for the relief of Col. Richard E. Tiede, U.S. Air Force; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. SYMINGTON:

S. 3024. A bill for the relief of Richard Smith (Noboru Kawano); to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BAKER:

S. 3025. A bill to provide for orderly trade in glycine; to the Committee on Finance.

By Mr. AIKEN:

S. 3026. A bill for the relief of the town of Jericho, Vt.; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. DODD:

S. 3027. A bill for the relief of Aldo Russo; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. SPARKMAN:

S. 3028. A bill to amend the National Housing Act to provide for a national program to improve the availability of necessary insurance protection for residential and business properties against fire, crime, and other perils, through the cooperative efforts of the Federal and State governments and the private property insurance industry; to authorize Federal reinsurance with appropriate loss-sharing by the States against insurance losses resulting from riots and other civil commotion; and for other purposes; and

S. 3029. A bill to assist in the provision of housing for low- and moderate-income families, and to extend and amend laws relating to housing and urban development; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

(See the remarks of Mr. SPARKMAN when he introduced the above bills, which appear under separate headings.)

By Mr. MAGNUSON (for himself and Mr. BARTLETT) (by request):

S. 3030. A bill to amend section 3 of the Act of November 2, 1966, relating to the development by the Secretary of the Interior of fish protein concentrate; to the Committee on Commerce.

By Mr. NELSON:

S. 3031. A bill to provide for the formulation of a national policy for environmental quality, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Public Works.

(See the remarks of Mr. NELSON when he introduced the above bill, which appear under a separate heading.)

### S. 3028—INTRODUCTION OF BILL RELATING TO AMENDMENT TO THE NATIONAL HOUSING ACT—NATIONAL INSURANCE DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, I introduce a bill to implement the recom-

mendations of the report by the President's National Advisory Panel on Insurance in Riot-Affected Areas, entitled "Meeting the Insurance Crisis of Our Cities." The bill would add a new title XII to the National Housing Act entitled "National Insurance Development Corporation."

Last year, the Subcommittee on Small Business of the Banking and Currency Committee approved a bill, S. 1484, to provide a program of crime protection insurance for small business. The bill is now pending before the full committee. It is the result of hearings before the Select Committee on Small Business led by the distinguished Senator from Florida [Mr. SMATHERS] and the legislative hearings before the Subcommittee on Small Business led by the distinguished Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. MCINTYRE].

The administration's bill is designed to meet serious and urgent problems concerning owners of residential properties as well as business properties in urban areas. With the work that has already been done by the Subcommittee on Small Business, I am hopeful that the Banking and Currency Committee can move ahead quickly to consider the administration proposal and endeavor to work out an effective program. Representatives of the private insurance industry have already expressed their interest in the administration's proposal and their support of its purpose. I share that purpose.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the bill, along with the section-by-section summary of it and a general explanation of the proposal, be printed along with my remarks at this point in the RECORD.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The bill will be received and appropriately referred; and, without objection, the bill, section by section summary, and general explanation will be printed in the RECORD, as requested by the Senator from Alabama.

The bill (S. 3028) to amend the National Housing Act to provide for a national program to improve the availability of necessary insurance protection for residential and business properties against fire, crime, and other perils, through the cooperative efforts of the Federal and State Governments and the private property insurance industry; to authorize Federal reinsurance with appropriate loss sharing by the States against insurance losses resulting from riots and other civil commotion; and for other purposes, introduced by Mr. SPARKMAN, was received, read twice by its title, referred to the Committee on Banking and Currency, and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

S. 3028

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled.*

#### SHORT TITLE

SECTION 1. This Act may be cited as the "National Insurance Development Corporation Act of 1968".

#### FINDINGS AND DECLARATION OF PURPOSE

SEC. 2. (a) The Congress finds that (1) the vitality of many American cities is being threatened by the deterioration of their in-

ner city areas; responsible owners of well-maintained residential, business, and other properties in many of these areas are unable to obtain adequate property insurance coverage against fire, crime, and other perils; the lack of such insurance coverage accelerates the deterioration of these areas by discouraging private investment and restricting the availability of credit to repair and improve property; and this deterioration poses a serious threat to the national economy; (2) recent riots and other civil commotion in many American cities have brought about abnormally high losses to the property insurance industry for which adequate reinsurance cannot be obtained at reasonable cost, and the risk of such losses will make most lines of property insurance even more difficult to obtain; (3) the capacity of the property insurance industry to provide adequate insurance is threatened, and the continuity of such property insurance protection is essential to the extension of credit in these areas; and (4) the national interest demands urgent action by the Congress to assure that essential lines of property insurance including protection against riot and civil commotion damage will be available to property owners at reasonable cost.

(b) It is therefore the purpose of this Act to (1) encourage and assist the various State insurance authorities and the property insurance industry to develop and carry out statewide programs which will make necessary property insurance coverage against the fire, crime, and other perils more readily available for residential, business, and other properties meeting reasonable underwriting standards; and (2) provide a Federal program of reinsurance against abnormal high property insurance losses resulting from riots and other civil commotion and placing appropriate financial responsibility upon the States to share in such losses.

#### AMENDMENT OF THE NATIONAL HOUSING ACT

SEC. 3. The National Housing Act is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new title:

#### "TITLE XII—NATIONAL INSURANCE DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION

#### "CREATION AND DISSOLUTION OF NATIONAL INSURANCE DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION

"SEC. 1201. (a) There is created within the Department of Housing and Urban Development, under the authority of the Secretary, a body corporate to be known as the National Insurance Development Corporation (hereinafter referred to as the 'Corporation').

"(b)(1) The powers of the Corporation under this title shall terminate on April 30, 1973, except to the extent necessary—

"(A) to continue reinsurance in accordance with the provisions of section 1223(b) until April 30, 1976;

"(B) to process, verify, and pay claims for reinsured losses and perform other necessary functions in connection therewith; and

"(C) to complete the liquidation and termination of the Corporation.

"(2) On April 30, 1976, or as soon thereafter as possible, the Secretary shall submit to the Congress for approval, a plan for the liquidation and termination of the Corporation.

#### "EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

"SEC. 1202. (a) Subject to the provisions of section 1201 (a), the management of the Corporation shall be vested in an Executive Director who shall be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate.

"(b) The Executive Director shall not be an officer, director, or employee of any private insurance company nor shall he hold any stock in any such company.

#### "ADVISORY BOARD, MEETINGS, DUTIES, COMPENSATION AND EXPENSES

"SEC. 1203. (a) (1) There is established an Advisory Board consisting of nineteen mem-

years, instead of the present authorized two-year period.

#### *Interest rate on college housing loans*

**Section 1105.** Would amend sections 401(c) and 401(e) of the Housing Act of 1950 to (1) establish a new lending rate for college housing loans based on the current average market yield for obligations of the United States with remaining periods to maturity comparable to the average maturities of college housing loans, less such a rate, not to exceed 1 per cent per annum, as the Secretary of HUD may determine, and (2) establish a new rate of interest on the funds for the program borrowed from the Treasury based on the same determination as the lending rate without any optional decrease.

#### *Federal-State training programs*

**Section 1106.** Would amend sections 801 and 802 of title VIII of the Housing Act of 1964 to expand the program to permit grants to States for the training of subprofessional (as well as professional persons) who will be employed by nonprofit organizations (as well as public organizations) in the field of housing and community development.

Section 805 of such Act would also be amended to make Guam, American Samoa, and the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands eligible for grants under the program.

#### *Additional Assistant Secretary of HUD*

**Section 1107.** Would amend the first sentence of section 4(a) of the Department of Housing and Urban Development Act and paragraph (87) of section 5315 of title 5, United States Code, to increase the number of Assistant Secretaries for the Department from four to five.

#### *International housing*

**Section 1108.** Would rewrite section 604 of the Housing Act of 1957 to clarify authority of HUD to (1) exchange data on housing and urban development with foreign countries; (2) employ private citizens to participate in intergovernmental and international meetings sponsored or attended by HUD; and (3) accept funds and other donations from international organizations, foreign countries, and private foundations in connection with activities carried on jointly under international housing programs, thereby permitting a sharing of costs.

#### *Low-rent public housing—Corporate status*

**Section 1109.** Repeals obsolete provisions of the United States Housing Act of 1937 to permit the retirement of the \$1,000,000 capital stock of the U.S. Housing Authority and the return of the \$1,000,000 to the Treasury. Also would amend section 101 of the Government Corporation Control Act to delete reference to the Federal Public Housing Authority.

#### *Eligibility for rent supplement payments*

**Section 1110.** Would extend eligibility to participate in the rent supplement program under section 101 of the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1965, to two projects in New York City which were approved for mortgage insurance shortly prior to August 10, 1965 (and therefore presently ineligible for rent supplement assistance), but, in connection with which, on an experimental basis, rent supplement assistance was provided for a temporary period through a joint effort of the Office of Economic Opportunity, the New York City Rent and Rehabilitation Administration, and HUD.

#### *Consolidation of low-rent public housing projects in the District of Columbia*

**Section 1111.** Would allow the National Capital Housing Authority in Washington, D.C. to consolidate, pursuant to section 15(6) of the United States Housing Act of 1937, into its annual contributions contract for its 8,423 units of low-rent housing under title II of the District of Columbia Alley Dwelling Act the operating income and operating ex-

pense accounts for its 72 units of low-rent housing under title I of such Act. Title I governs housing provided prior to enactment of the United States Housing Act of 1937, whereas title II governs housing originally provided with aid under the 1937 Act.

#### *Earthquake study*

**Section 1112.** Would amend section 5 of the Southeast Hurricane Disaster Relief Act of 1965 by extending the date the Secretary of HUD is required to report his findings and recommendations on earthquake insurance from October 31, 1968 to June 30, 1969.

#### *Technical amendments*

**Section 1113.** Subsection (a) would amend section 110(c) of the Housing Act of 1949 to make it clear that urban renewal project funds can be used for "the restoration of acquired properties of historical or architectural value."

Subsection (b) would amend section 110(d) of the Housing Act of 1949 to make it clear that grant-in-aid credit can be given for expenditures by a public body for the construction of foundations and platforms on air rights sites in urban renewal projects to the same extent that such work could now be done with project funds.

Subsection (c) would amend section 110(e) of the Housing Act of 1949 to make it clear that the restoration of historic properties can be carried out as an urban renewal project cost for those projects approved for three-fourths Federal grant assistance on a limited project cost basis.

Subsection (d) would amend section 1101(c) (3) of the National Housing Act to permit amortization of the mortgage term under the medical group practice facilities program to commence after completion of construction of the facility rather than at the time the mortgage is executed.

Subsection (e) would amend section 213(a) of the National Housing Act to clarify the authority of the Secretary to invest all moneys, not currently needed for the operation of the cooperative management housing insurance fund, in Government bonds or obligations, or in the purchase on the open market of debentures which are the obligation of the fund.

Subsection (f) would amend section 810(e) of the National Housing Act to permit an individual, who is approved by the Secretary, to be a mortgagor under the FHA section 810 housing program for military personnel or employees or personnel of NASA or AEC research or development installations.

#### *RENT SUPPLEMENTS*

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, for more than three decades the Nation has worked to solve the problem of building decent housing for low-income families. In all this time, we have sought the maximum participation of private industry in meeting these objectives. But the economics of housing production put the low-income market out of the reach of private enterprise.

The U.S. Housing Act of 1937 gave us the public housing program, and it has done a very creditable job over the years. Thousands of low-income families have a sound housing and a decent environment in which to raise their children because of the low-rent program.

In spite of substantial progress under this program, many knowledgeable persons felt that we could do more to house poor families if we could bring the resources and talents of the private sector more to bear on the problem. In 1965, we cleared the way for greater private involvement in the low-income market with enactment of the rent supplement program.

Private sponsors develop the housing. Private builders construct the housing, and private owners select the tenants and manage the housing.

The families served are truly of low income—those who meet local public housing requirements. They pay one-fourth of monthly income toward the economic rent and the difference is made up by the rent supplement payment from the Federal Housing Administration directly to the private owner.

If family income increases, the supplement decreases and it is possible for a family to improve its income so that it pays all the rent and the supplement ceases. But the family does not have to move out of a decent home as it would if it were over income for public housing.

In the first year that the program was funded, all \$32 million in contract authority was exhausted. The current \$10 million in funds has virtually been expended. Many additional project proposals have already been received in FHA.

Altogether, some 42,000 units of rent supplement housing are in various stages of planning, construction, or management.

President Johnson has asked for \$65 million in contract authority for this program for fiscal 1969. This will produce some 72,500 additional units.

This program is desperately needed. I urge my colleagues to join me in supporting full funding of the rent supplement program.

#### **S. 3031: INTRODUCTION OF BILL ENTITLED "THE ENVIRONMENTAL QUALITY PRESERVATION ACT OF 1968"**

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President, increasingly of late, more and more people have been sounding the alarm about the grave threats to our environment posed by a vast tide of air and water pollution, by our urban sprawl and by the products and byproducts of our rapidly burgeoning technology.

There is no question that the quality of our environment is deteriorating rapidly and that the health and welfare of our citizens is imminently threatened. The degradation of our air and water has reached alarming proportions. The air in many of our major cities is not safe to breathe and the water in many of our lakes and streams is not safe even for partial body contact.

Our Government has a vital stake in restoring the quality of our environment. In order that it may better meet its responsibilities, I am introducing today a bill—the Environmental Quality Preservation Act of 1968—which will serve to coordinate and expand the State, local, and Federal governments' role in meeting the environmental crisis.

Title I of the bill would create a Council on Environmental Quality in the Executive Office of the President to oversee the programs of the Federal, State, and local governments to determine to what extent these activities are contributing to the achievement of environmental quality and to gather, analyze, and interpret conditions and trends in environmental quality.



The principal task of the Council will be to develop within a 5-year period comprehensive national policies and programs to improve and maintain the quality of our environment. This is a job of enormous import not only to us today but also to many generations to come.

Under title II of the bill, the Secretary of the Interior is authorized to conduct studies of natural environmental systems in the United States to document and define changes in these systems, and to develop and maintain an inventory of natural resource development projects and other related projects which may make significant modifications in the natural environment.

Further, the Secretary of the Interior is directed to establish a clearinghouse for information on ecological problems and studies and to disseminate information about progress in the field and to establish a program in which representative natural environments on Federal lands can be set aside for scientific study and for preservation. Also, the Secretary of the Interior will assist and encourage the establishment of similar natural preserves on State and private lands.

Title III of the bill would establish, under the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, a comprehensive waste management research program, coordinating all such research now being done under a number of different Federal programs. The Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare is also directed to compile a national inventory of waste management needs and problems and of waste management technology.

In addition, the bill would establish a clearinghouse for information on all aspects of air, water, and soil pollution and waste disposal. This information would be made available to business, industry, municipalities, and the general public.

This measure will serve effectively to coordinate and channel the efforts of State, local, and Federal governments in our struggle to restore the quality of our environment.

We have been warned repeatedly by our scientists about the dangers involved in disrupting the delicate balance of nature. We have seen many times the disastrous results of manmade ecological disruptions.

We find in this country today a rapidly diminishing natural resource base. The continued destruction of our once abundant resources is accelerated by our technology and our urban sprawl. We have arrived at a critical point in time, at a very important crossroad. If we do not move boldly and decisively now, before long we will have seriously eroded our resource base and dangerously degraded our whole environment.

The effort that we must make has to be thorough and comprehensive. We cannot afford to make any mistakes. And we need the support of every citizen and of every public official at all levels of government, from city and county government right on up to the White House.

There can be little doubt that we have pushed nature far beyond its capacity to regenerate that which we have taken

away and to dilute all the polluting wastes that we pour in mountainous quantities into the air and water and onto the land.

We must halt the senseless pollution of our air and water; we must shepherd our remaining last resources with great care; we must evaluate very carefully any new project or development which threatens to disrupt or disturb our environment in any way.

Now is the time. This may well be our last chance. We all have an obligation to consider exactly what is at stake. We must decide what kind of a world we want this to be both for us and for our children and our grandchildren. Now is the time for decision.

I ask unanimous consent that the text of this bill—the Environmental Quality Preservation Act of 1968—be printed in the RECORD at this point in my remarks.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The bill will be received and appropriately referred; and, without objection, the bill will be printed in the RECORD.

The bill (S. 3031) to provide for the formulation of a national policy for environmental quality, and for other purposes, introduced by Mr. NELSON, was received, read twice by its title, referred to the Committee on Public Works, and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

#### S. 3031

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That this Act may be cited as the "Environmental Quality Preservation Act of 1968".*

SEC. 2. The Congress finds and declares—

(a) that the quality of the environment of the Nation—its air, water, and soil—has substantially deteriorated and is continuing to do so at an increasing rate;

(b) that this decline in environmental quality is threatening the health and survival of plant and animal life, and indeed of man himself; is depriving man of esthetic and recreational values increasingly important to his physical and mental health; and is obstructing, and indeed may eventually prevent, the economic, social, and material development necessary to meet the grave problems of an expanding population, and continuing urbanization and industrialization;

(c) that present pollution control programs, directed as they are to specific problems of pollution of water, air or soil, do not together constitute a comprehensive environmental quality program and cannot maintain overall environmental quality at a level sufficient for the emerging needs of the Nation; and

(d) that the purposes of this Act therefore are to provide for the formulation and recommendation to the Congress of a comprehensive national environmental quality program; to foster interest in and attention to the problems of environmental quality by the Congress and throughout the Executive branch; and to reorganize and redirect existing research programs, and establish new programs, in order to expand rapidly knowledge of all kinds in the areas of environmental quality, pollution control, and waste management.

#### TITLE I—COUNCIL ON ENVIRONMENTAL QUALITY

SEC. 101. The President shall transmit to the Congress annually beginning not later than June 30, 1969, an Environmental Quality Report (hereinafter referred to as the "Report") which shall set forth (1) the status and condition of the major natural, man-made, or altered environmental sys-

tems of the Nation, including, but not limited to the air, the aquatic, including marine, estuarine, and fresh water, and the terrestrial environment, including, but not limited to, the forest, dryland, wetland, range, urban, suburban, and rural environment; and (2) current and foreseeable trends in management and utilization of such environments and the effects of those trends on the social, economic, and other requirements of the Nation.

SEC. 102. (a) There is hereby created in the Executive Office of the President a Council on Environmental Quality (hereinafter referred to as the "Council"). The Council shall be composed of five members who shall be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, each of whom shall be a person who, as a result of his training, experience, and attainments, is exceptionally qualified to analyze and interpret environmental information of all kinds, to appraise the environmental quality programs of Federal, State and local governments, and to formulate and recommend national policy to promote the improvement of the quality of the environment.

(b) The Council may employ such officers and employees as may be necessary to carry out its functions under this title. In addition, the Council may employ and fix the compensation of such experts and consultants as may be necessary for the carrying out of its functions under this title, in accordance with section 3109 of title 5, United States Code (but without regard to the last sentence thereof).

(c) It shall be the principal duty of the Council to develop comprehensive national policies and programs to improve and maintain the quality of the environment needed to meet the emerging social, economic, material, and other requirements of the Nation. The recommendations of the Council shall be transmitted by the President to the Congress by January 1, 1973.

(d) In addition to those in subsection (c), it shall be the duty and function of the Council—

(1) to assist and advise the President in the preparation of the Environmental Quality Report;

(2) to gather timely and authoritative information concerning the conditions and trends in environmental qualities both current and prospective, to analyze and interpret such information and to compile and submit to the President studies relating to such conditions and trends;

(3) to appraise the various programs and activities of Federal, State, and local government for the purpose of determining the extent to which such programs and activities are contributing to the achievement of environmental quality, and to make recommendations to the President with respect thereto;

(4) to make and furnish such studies, reports, and recommendations, with respect to matters of policy and legislation as the President may request; and

(5) to foster study and research in the social, technical, administrative, economic, political, and other aspects of environmental quality at institutions of higher learning throughout the Nation.

(e) In exercising its powers, functions, and duties under this title—

(1) the Council shall consult with such representatives of science, industry, agriculture, labor, conservation, State and local governments, and other organizations and groups, as it deems advisable; and

(2) the Council shall, to the fullest extent possible, utilize the services, facilities, and information (including statistical information) of public and private agencies, organizations, and individuals, in order that duplication of effort and expense may be avoided.

## TITLE II—ECOLOGICAL RESEARCH

SEC. 201. The Secretary of the Interior (hereinafter referred to as the "Secretary"), in order to carry out the purposes of this title, is authorized—

(1) to conduct investigations, studies, surveys, research, and analyses;

(2) to document and define changes in the natural environment, including the plant and animal systems, and to accumulate necessary data and other information for a continuing analysis of these changes or trends and an interpretation of their underlying causes;

(3) to develop and maintain an inventory of natural resource development projects, engineering works, and other major projects such as, but not limited to, eradication projects contemplated or planned by public or private agencies or organizations which may make significant modifications in the natural environment;

(4) to establish a system of collecting and receiving information and data on ecological research and evaluations which are in progress or are planned by other public or private agencies or organizations, or individuals;

(5) to evaluate and disseminate information of an ecological nature to public and private agencies or organizations, or individuals in the form of reports, publications, atlases, and maps;

(6) to initiate and utilize ecological information and in the planning and development of resource-oriented projects;

(7) to encourage other public or private agencies planning development projects to consult with the Secretary on the impact of the proposed projects on the natural environment;

(8) to encourage and assist public (non-Federal) or private agencies or organizations, including educational institutions, museums, and botanical and zoological gardens, and other scientific or conservation organizations, or individuals, to acquire, designate, and maintain representative samples of important natural environmental systems, including natural areas for observation and for manipulation, and to encourage such agencies, organizations, and individuals to utilize existing areas under their control or jurisdiction for such purposes;

(9) to establish through interagency coordination, on federally owned lands, a Federal system of natural areas for scientific purposes and develop the means and methods for withdrawal of such areas from non-conforming uses, and provide for their management and protection to serve the natural research needs for all agencies, both public and private; except that in developing standards governing any such withdrawals, the Secretary shall give due consideration to future alternative uses of such areas subject to withdrawal; and

(10) to assist and advise the Council on Environmental Quality established under title I of this Act.

SEC. 202. The Secretary is further authorized for the purposes of this title (1) to make grants and enter into contracts or cooperative agreements with public or private agencies or organizations, or individuals, (2) to accept and use donations of funds, property, personal services, or facilities, (3) to acquire selected areas of lands or interests in lands by donation, acquisition with donated funds, devise, or exchange for acquired lands or public lands under his jurisdiction which he finds suitable for disposition, (4) to administer such lands or interests for experimental purposes, including the observation and manipulation of natural areas, and (5) to issue such regulations as he deems necessary with respect to the administration of such lands.

SEC. 203. Activities authorized under this title may be carried out on lands under the jurisdiction or control of other departments

or agencies of the Government only with the approval of the head of the department or agency concerned.

SEC. 204. The Secretary shall consult with and provide technical assistance to departments and agencies of the Government, and he is authorized to obtain from such departments and agencies such information, data, reports, advice, and assistance as he deems necessary or appropriate, and which can reasonably be furnished by such departments and agencies in carrying out the purposes of this title. Any Federal agency furnishing advice or assistance hereunder may expend its own funds for such purposes, with or without reimbursement by the Secretary.

SEC. 205. Nothing in this title is intended to give, or shall be construed as giving, the Secretary any authority over any of the authorized programs of any other department or agency of the Government, or as repealing, modifying, restricting, or amending existing authorities or responsibilities that any department or agency may have with respect to the natural environment. The Secretary shall consult with the heads of such departments and agencies for the purpose of identifying and eliminating duplication of effort.

SEC. 206. (a) The Secretary is authorized to establish such advisory committees as he deems desirable for the purpose of rendering advice and submitting recommendations to him relating to the carrying out of the purposes of this title. Such advisory committees shall render advice and submit recommendations to the Secretary upon his request and may submit recommendations to the Secretary at any time on their own initiative. The Secretary may designate employees of the Department of the Interior to serve as secretaries to the committee.

(b) Members of advisory committees appointed by the Secretary may receive not to exceed \$100 per day when engaged in the actual performance of their duties, in addition to reimbursement for travel, subsistence, and other necessary expenses incurred by them in the performance of their duties.

SEC. 207. The Secretary is authorized to participate in environmental research in surrounding oceans and in other countries in cooperation with appropriate departments or agencies of such countries or with coordinating international organizations if he determines that such activities will contribute to the objectives and purposes of this Act.

## TITLE III—WASTE MANAGEMENT RESEARCH

SEC. 301. (a) (1) The Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare (hereinafter referred to as the "Secretary") shall organize the research and related activities authorized by the Clean Air Act, as amended, and the Solid Waste Disposal Act, as amended, into a comprehensive program for research in waste management. The Secretary shall insure that the program is organized, planned, and conducted with singleness of purpose and maximum effectiveness, and for this purpose the most advanced management and research methods and techniques, including systems analysis and systems engineering, shall be employed.

(2) The Secretary is authorized to consult with the Secretary of the Interior for the purpose of including research and related activities authorized by the Federal Water Pollution Control Act, as amended, in the program authorized in this title, and the Secretary of the Interior is authorized to cooperate to the extent practicable with the Secretary for such purpose.

(b) As a foundation for the work of the waste management research program established by subsection (a) of this section, the Secretary shall have compiled a national inventory of waste management needs and problems, and of present waste management methods, including the costs of these methods.

(c) The Secretary shall also establish with-

in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (hereinafter referred to as the "Department") an office to collect from appropriate sources and to disseminate actively to the general public, to agricultural, industrial, and commercial groups and their representatives, and to Federal, State, and local government agencies and their representatives, such information as is available regarding all aspects of air, water, and soil pollution, including in particular the extent and dangers of such pollution, and the financial and technical assistance available from the Federal Government for research on, and prevention and abatement of, such pollution.

(d) The Secretary shall assist and advise the Council on Environmental Quality established under title I of this Act.

SEC. 302. (a) The Secretary shall encourage and arrange for full and complete cooperation between the waste management research programs established under section 301(a), and those programs of other departments and agencies of the Federal government engaged in research and development work on any aspect of waste management.

(b) The Secretary is hereby authorized to request, and the departments and agencies of the Government are directed to grant, the use of the waste disposal installations and facilities of any such department or agency for the purpose of testing and evaluating new methods, procedures, and equipment for waste management: *Provided*, That in the judgment of the department or agency concerned such test and evaluation work will not disrupt, disorganize, or in any way interfere with the normal activity, operations, and functioning of such agency or department: *Provided further*, That any expense incurred in such test and evaluation work above and beyond the normal and usual expense of operating the waste disposal installations and facilities of the agency or department concerned shall be borne by the department.

SEC. 303. When used in this title—

(a) the term "waste" means the unwanted solid, liquid, and gaseous materials from agricultural, industrial, commercial, domestic, and community production and consumption activities, discarded or discharged into or onto the atmosphere, water courses, or the ground;

(b) the term "waste management" means the planned, organized, and efficient collection, treatment, reclamation, and disposal of waste to minimize or prevent air, water, and soil pollution; and

(c) the term "research" means (1) studies, investigations, and experiments for the development of basic and applied knowledge bearing on waste management in the physical, biological, social, and earth sciences; and (2) the design, development, and testing of equipment, methods, and processes for waste management.

## TITLE IV—APPROPRIATIONS

SEC. 401. There are hereby authorized to be appropriated for the fiscal year beginning July 1, 1968, and for each of five succeeding fiscal years, such amounts as may be necessary for the purposes of this Act.

## ADDITIONAL COSPONSORS OF BILLS

Mr. MONTTOYA. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that, at its next printing, the names of the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. ANDERSON], the Senator from West Virginia [Mr. BYRD], the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. MCGEE], and the Senator from Texas [Mr. YARBOROUGH] be added as cosponsors of the bill (S. 2932) to clarify and otherwise amend the Poultry Products Inspection Act, to provide for cooperation with appropriate State agencies with respect to

thusiastically respond to the President's urgent requests to help restore progress to America's farmers.

### ENVIRONMENTAL QUALITY CONTROL

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. President, late in the last session of Congress, the Senator from California [Mr. KUCHEL] and I introduced proposed legislation designed to establish a national program on environmental quality control (S. 2805). Subsequently, on February 6 of this year, I placed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a summary of the views of a number of eminent individuals and organizations on the type of national programs our Nation needs if it is to effectively deal with the accelerating rate of environmental change and degradation.

The current issue of the Conservation Foundation's newsletter—February 23, 1968—is devoted to a review and discussion of the need for developing intelligent, long-range Federal policies on environmental quality management. I commend the newsletter to the attention of the Senate, because the problem of maintaining the quality of our environment is a matter of critical concern to all of us and, in some respects, is the shared responsibility of at least four or five of the standing committees of the Senate.

I ask unanimous consent that the Conservation Foundation's newsletter be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the newsletter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

#### IS MANKIND PLAYING A GAME OF ENVIRONMENTAL RUSSIAN ROULETTE?

Of all the dangerous games people play, could it be that the ultimate is environmental Russian roulette? That man, in the mindless destruction of his habitat, is risking his own survival? That he is making himself a candidate for classification as an endangered species?

We have been warned. Dr. Barry Commoner of Washington University believes "continued pollution of the earth, if unchecked, will eventually destroy the fitness of this planet as a place for human life." (1) Dr. LaMont Cole of Cornell University suspects we may be approaching the point at which the rate of oxygen burned in fuel combustion exceeds the rate at which oxygen is liberated in photosynthesis. If that happens, "the oxygen content of the atmosphere will start to decrease." (2)

And even if man escapes self-extinction, there is this reminder from Dr. S. Dillon Ripley of the Smithsonian Institution: "Throughout the history of the world, various nations have risen and fallen in accordance with over-exploitation and deterioration of their resource bases." (3)

While some might question the degree of seriousness or urgency of the threat, it exists. As a congressional committee tells us, "our power to disturb or alter the ponderous forces and rhythms of nature by man-induced manipulations has increased to the point where mistakes or unknown effects may be profound and irreversible." (3)

Admiral Hyman Rickover adds a related commentary: "In the brief span of time—a century or so—that we have had a science-based technology, what use have we made of it? We have multiplied inordinately, wasted irreplaceable fuels and minerals and perpetrated incalculable and irreversible

ecological damage. On the strength of our knowledge of nature, we have set ourselves above nature. We presume to change the natural environment for all the living creatures on this earth." (4)

#### MAN THE GUINEA PIG

How come this mess? What's gone wrong? What's happened to our vaunted science and technology?

Dr. Lynton K. Caldwell of Indiana University explains that management of our environment is "largely the sum of the unplanned, uncoordinated, and often cross-purpose pursuits of individuals, corporations, and government agencies, all seeking their own objectives, and seldom with regard for the cumulative consequences of their actions." (5)

The problem is, of course, that there are cumulative consequences. All components of the environment are in delicate, precarious balance with each other. A jolt or pollutant which throws part of the system out of kilter may have unintended, unforeseen and harmful results. As Dr. Rene Jules Dubos of Rockefeller University observes, "modern ecological studies leave no doubt that almost any disturbances of natural conditions are likely to have a large variety of indirect unfavorable effects because all components of nature are interrelated and interdependent." (6)

The problem is further compounded by our lack of knowledge about many of these unfavorable effects. But we nevertheless continue our haphazard, headlong rush through life in the name of so-called progress. "Like the sorcerer's apprentice, we are acting upon dangerously incomplete knowledge. We are, in effect, conducting a huge experiment on ourselves," says Dr. Commoner. (1)

Environmental change is not new, of course. Man has been causing it for centuries. But "what is relatively new is the increasing scale, variety, and speed of the change which modern technology generates," Dr. Donald Hornig, director of the Office of Science and Technology, points out. (7)

With accelerating scientific know-how, proliferating technology, alluring economics, and mushrooming population, we indulge in a free-wheeling ecological laissez-faire. It adds up, in the words of Dr. Roger Revelle of Harvard University, to this: "Man is using his dominance of the earth to produce the most far-reaching, sudden and drastic upset of natural conditions the world has ever seen." (2)

#### WILL WE GET SMART?

But even if we wanted to heed the warnings, what could we do? Are there solutions?

Dr. Stanley Cain, Assistant Secretary of Interior, suggests that "ecological understanding is necessary to assure that environmental manipulations undertaken for the benefit of man are in fact beneficial." He says "we need synthesis of the information from the many disciplines, we need to attack the systems as a whole." (2)

Senator Henry Jackson of Washington, chairman of the Senate Interior Committee, comments that "for too long government has reacted to environmental crises rather than anticipating and avoiding them. The future will require that more effort be spent on treating the causes, rather than the symptoms of environmental decay . . . Choosing between available alternatives will require that we develop intelligent long-range public policies." (8)

We need, in brief:

1. Extensive research, surveys, and inventories, plus evaluation of ecological interrelationships and consequences of man's environmental manipulations. Theoretically, these functions could be performed by the Interior Department, by other departments and agencies, by all of them, or by a new research body.

2. A top level, independent, prestigious body, free from the daily problems, demands

and politics which accompany operating programs, to digest, distill and disseminate all available environmental knowledge, to provide an annual report on the status of our environment, and to be the ranking advisors to the President and to the nation on long range environmental policies and needs.

Several bills now pending in Congress seek to fill one or both of these needs.

In 1965, Senator Gaylord Nelson of Wisconsin introduced a bill (S. 2282) authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to conduct a broad program of ecological research and surveys, maintain an inventory of natural resource management projects, and in general, become an ecological clearinghouse.

In hearings on April 27, 1966 before the Senate Interior Committee, government agencies were uniformly cool to the idea. They noted that on February 8, 1955, President Johnson told Congress he had asked the Office of Science and Technology (OST) and the Bureau of the Budget (BOB) "to recommend the best way in which the federal government may direct efforts toward advancing our scientific understanding of natural plant and animal communities and their interaction with man and his activities." (9) The agency spokesmen thus urged Congress to wait and see what the OST-BOB study would recommend. Agriculture, for example, said that such studies by Interior might duplicate some of its own work.

Nelson reintroduced his proposal on December 14, 1967 (S. 2789), and the following day Senator Jackson and Senator Thomas Kuchel of California introduced a more far-reaching proposal (S. 2805).

Title I of S. 2805 is essentially the same as the Nelson proposal. It authorizes Interior to investigate; to document and define changes in the environment; to inventory all projects affecting it; to collect, disseminate and evaluate ecological information; to encourage public and private agencies to consult with Interior on the environmental impact of proposed projects; and to conduct research within federally owned natural areas. (On the latter point, the Nelson bill would give Interior broad authority over the use and administration of these research areas; would allow it to withdraw them from non-conforming uses, to serve the research needs of all agencies; and would permit it to acquire lands for experimental purposes.)

Both bills state that Interior shall have no authority over other agencies' authorized programs, and shall seek to avoid duplication of effort. (Note: At hearings on Nelson's bill in 1966, Assistant Secretary of the Interior Cain said he thought Interior was an ideal choice for gathering and collating ecological information, but not to exercise oversight for the government. "I don't know of any agency that would stand still for Interior coordinating its efforts," he said.)

#### A "BOLD STROKE" SUGGESTED

Meanwhile, a further concept—beyond research—evolved. CF President Russell E. Train, for example, proposed in 1965 that the President establish a Council of Ecological Advisors. "Let me make it clear," he stressed, "that I am not just talking about an interdepartmental committee. With one such bold stroke, concern for the quality of the environment would be given an important new status in planning and policy making at the highest level of government. It would give ecology a new posture in public affairs, and a new sense of responsibility for making its knowledge applicable and relevant to the practical needs of our day." (10)

Later, during the 1966 hearings on Nelson's bill, Train testified that while Interior could well handle the ecological research called for by the bill, "the primary problem is that of interagency relationships" and the "best solution" for that problem is to take it out of the "traditional resource departments" and put it in the "Executive Office of the President." (2)

He explained that CF was concerned with the "appraisal of major federal programs from an ecological standpoint." He said "a judgment independent of the operating agencies should be brought to bear in much the same fashion that the Budget Bureau brings an independent judgment to bear."

A similar idea was expressed by an HEW task force on the environment in 1967. Voicing concern that nowhere in government is there the "capability of making the enlightened assessments of policy affecting the environment as there are assessments of policy affecting the economy," the task force recommended that the President seek congressional authorization to establish a Council of Ecological Advisors for these purposes:

"To provide an overview, to assess activities in both the public and private sectors affecting environmental change, and to act in an analyzing capacity; to be in a commanding position to advise on critical environmental risk-benefit decisions; and finally, to be instrumental in the shaping of national policy on environmental management."

It is of the "utmost importance," the task force said, that the President have the "constant, well-informed advice and program coordination" which such a council would provide. (11)

The concept of a high-level council was put into the legislative arena by Congressman John Dingell of Michigan. On March 23, 1967, he introduced a bill (H.R. 7796) to set up a Council on Environmental Quality. Then on September 28, 1967, Congressman John Tunney of California proposed a similar Council of Ecological Advisors (H.R. 13211).

And finally, Title II of the Jackson-Kuchel bill (S. 2805) calls for a Council on Environmental Quality to be appointed by the President, with the consent of the Senate. Section 202 of the bill declares, in part:

"a. The primary function of the council shall be to study and analyze environmental trends and the factors that affect these trends, relating each area of study and analysis to the conservation, social, economic, and health goals of this nation. In carrying out this function, the council shall:

"(1) Report at least once each biennium to the President on the state and condition of the environment; (2) provide advice and assistance to the President on the formulation of national policies to foster and promote the improvement of environmental quality; (3) obtain information using existing sources, to the greatest extent practicable, concerning the quality of the environment and make such information available to the public.

"b. The council shall periodically review and appraise new and existing programs and activities carried out directly by federal agencies or through financial assistance and make recommendations thereon to the President.

"c. It shall be the duty and function of the council and the Secretary of the Interior to assist and advise the President in the preparation of the biennial Environment Quality Report" which the bill requires the President to submit to Congress every two years.

As some proponents view it, the council should be able to sound the alarm on any project, proposal, or policy void which poses a threat. It should take a broad overview but have no hesitancy in spotlighting specific problems. It should be completely free to pursue its own lines of investigation and make recommendations. As proposed, council members would serve at the pleasure of the President. There's some thought that the council's freedom of action would be enhanced if the members were named for set, staggered terms.

#### TO WIN FRIENDS AND INFLUENCE PEOPLE

None of the bills would give the council any power to enforce its recommendations.

The council would have no veto power over programs of any department. But even without such power, a council could wield considerable influence. It could set guidelines for overall policy which would enable and encourage all government and private agencies to apply broad environmental criteria and to examine all alternatives in the formulation of programs and projects.

With high status in the Executive hierarchy, outside the mission-oriented, program-operating departments and agencies, and with the support of the President, the council could become a powerful force for ecological awareness within and without government.

Some believe the council should be composed of conservationists, planners, landscape architects, and representatives of industry, labor and agriculture, supported by a core of independent professionals. The Tunney bill, for example, calls for a nine-member council, to include representatives of "science, industry, and major areas of ecological and environmental concern." They would work for the council part-time, at \$100 per day.

While a large and varied membership might provide a platform for many points of view, the labored consensus-seeking of such a group might prevent it from ever exerting any real influence. A national environmental policy cannot be nourished on a bland diet of lowest common denominator food for thought.

Thus others favor a small but prestigious group of full-time experts—akin to the three-member Council of Economic Advisors. The Dingell bill calls for three "exceptionally qualified" members on a Council on Environmental Quality. The Jackson-Kuchel bill proposes a five-member Council on Environmental Quality, to be named by the President, with each "professionally qualified to analyze and interpret environmental trends of all kinds and descriptions" and each "conscious of and responsive to the scientific, economic, social, esthetic and cultural needs and interests of this nation."

In the final analysis, the council's success would depend on the men named. If staffed with members commanding the "highest national prestige and respect," as CF's Dr. Raymond F. Dasmann notes elsewhere in this issue, it could succeed. But as he also observes, the council "is no place for the stormy petrels of conservation or the grinders of special interest axes." Neither is it any place for the political or scientific hack, paid off for some past favor.

Another possible solution is for OST itself to assume the task of providing an overview. Indeed, it has already set up an inter-agency Committee on Environmental Quality. But with a main role of "technical coordination," its focus is admittedly limited. OST received so many inquiries on problems beyond its responsibility, according to Hornig, its director, that the President's Science Advisory Committee (a group of outside scientists staffed by OST) plans to establish a continuing panel on the environment to maintain an overview, identify problems and keep the President advised. (7) The question is whether such a panel would have the influence and prestigious membership of an independent council.

#### GRIST FOR THE COUNCIL'S MILL

The problems which need to be placed in the lap of a council are numerous, important and staggeringly complex. A few examples illustrate our lack of knowledge and foresight:

We release carbon dioxide into the air in great quantities—faster than it can be used up by plants or dissolved into the oceans. But we know so little about this cycle and its possible drastic effects on the climate that some scientists predict a melting of the ice cap and flooding, while others forecast another age of glaciers.

We look to nuclear power plants to give us more electricity and a quick cure for air polluting coal and oil burning generating plants. But we don't know what the new and larger dose of thermal pollution from nuclear plants will do to the life cycle of our waterways.

We are moving toward modification of weather, but are still hazy as to what this might do to our environment.

We build a Welland Canal, but we later discover that it lets sea lampreys into the Great Lakes with disastrous effects on fisheries and beaches.

We don't begin to know the environmental consequences of population growth and urban congestion. As C. H. Waddington, former member of the United Kingdom Advisory Council on Science Policy, puts it: We don't know "how to measure the neurological situation resulting from commuter stress, noisy or polluted environments, excessive sensory stimuli, or the other factors of modern living which lead to 'nervous exhaustion'." (12)

What are the relationships between the quality of human life—employment, housing, health, recreation, etc.—and how we manage our natural environment?

We freely use poisonous pesticides and fertilizers, which wash through the soil into ground and surface waters. But we know far too little about their long-range effects on the soil, fish, wildlife—and man. And we are quite unclear as to where these substances eventually become deposited, and with what results.

We replace hard, non-biodegradable detergents with soft detergents, to get mounds of foam out of our rivers and lakes and sewage treatment plants. But we later discover that the new compounds may be killing large numbers of fish by attacking their eggs.

It's obvious that independent evaluations on these and a host of other problems are needed and would be beneficial. While there can be no guarantee of unerring wisdom, of course, the injection of ecological awareness and independent environmental evaluations into policy making and management of our resources would be wisdom enough.

Furthermore, a byproduct of the council's leadership could be to keep alive ecological issues which are sometimes smothered in inter-agency feuds. Environmental responsibilities are fragmented among innumerable departments, bureaus, agencies, and commissions of government. Each has its historical jurisdiction, its specific expertise, its ingrained biases—right or wrong—and its own clientele or constituency.

The insights which an environmental council could provide would in no way diminish the value of the myriad techniques, already used to achieve cooperation and coordination—interagency agreements, interdepartmental committees, commissions, and the few coordinating relationships required by law. The environmental council would be above the firing line. It would not be a competing party with an operating program, with a vested interest. The information gathered and disseminated by the council could, however, help operating agencies make wiser decisions.

#### ECOLOGICAL COMING-OF-AGE

More consideration is already being given to broad environmental factors in several federal agencies. (See Page 7.) Government and the public are becoming more concerned with the environment. As William Van Ness, Senate Interior Committee staff member, noted in a recent report, there is increasing recognition that "the market system does not always arrive at the best possible decisions," that "environment-affecting goals in our society have often been inconsistent, incoherent and contradictory," and that "the sum total of environmental actions must at some level of government be assessed and evaluated in qualitative terms." (13)

Within the Senate itself, in addition to

the Jackson-Kuchel and Nelson proposals, Senator Edmund Muskie of Maine has proposed (Senate Resolution 68) the creation of a 15-member Select Senate Committee on Technology and the Human Environment. It would have no jurisdiction over legislative proposals, no powers of legislative oversight. Instead, it "would provide a central forum for considering the public policy implications of scientific and technological developments as they relate to the individual and his environment," as Muskie explained. (14)

On the House side, the subcommittee on Science, Research, and Development of the Committee on Science and Astronautics has already held several days of "investigative" hearings this year on the status of research on environmental pollution, and on how the federal effort should be managed and coordinated. The subcommittee has held similar hearings in the past in its search for "greater insight into the undesirable side effects of man-made changes in our world," as Representative Emilio Daddario of Connecticut, its chairman, has explained. (15)

Soon no self-respecting or status-respecting member of the President's cabinet will dare be without his own environmental advisor. Congressional committees which handle environmental legislation might even establish a chair for a resident ecologist.

Few would argue with such ecological coming-of-age. It's overdue.

Whatever steps might be taken in government, there is also sentiment that a non-governmental organization is needed too—one which would be to the environmental field what the Rand Corp. and the Institute for Defense Analyses are to the military. Such an environmental think tank could marshal all the facts, bring its expertise to bear on ecological problems, and assess the long-range implications of our actions without any institutional bias. It could greatly extend the capability of Interior or any other agency.

Both Dr. Gilbert F. White of the University of Chicago, and the National Academy of Sciences, for example, have suggested a kind of "resources intelligence agency," an independent organization to "cultivate the highest degrees of perceptiveness and sensitivity so as to be able to feel the pulse of the ecosystem, as it were, and to register and assess incipient developments before they have reached critical dimensions." (16)

#### PROBLEMS AND PROGNOSIS

Public attitudes are involved, of course. Government agencies, Congress, the private sector—all reflect the habits, influences and values of our aggressive, technological society. We have a heritage of economics and exploitation—not ecology. Priorities are traditionally set between dollar signs. Progress and a better life are equated with more and more buildings, cars, gadgets.

Dr. F. Raymond Fosberg, special advisor to the Smithsonian Institution, says our habits are grounded in the American people's seeming "child-like faith that the apparently impossible problems that face us will be solved by science." (2)

And there is the ingrown pioneer spirit which, combined with our traditional overabundance of natural resources, equals exploitation. Caldwell put it this way:

"It is not to be wondered that the man who, when trying to wrest a living from nature after the fashion which three centuries of American history found good may explode in frustrated, uncomprehending outrage at the suggestion that he is selfishly exploitive. The pioneer with ax and gun and plow is still revered in American folklore; it is difficult for those who would emulate his psychology today to see themselves, at best, as anachronistic and, at worst, as destroyers of the national heritage." (5)

Within this setting, what are the chances that Congress will take remedial action and

enact legislation to provide ecological research and to create a high level, independent body of environmental advisors to the President?

No one can now predict the form of the legislation, if any, that might emerge from Congress. But the necessary public discussion, debate and analysis of needs have started.

Staff studies are already underway in the Senate Interior Committee in preparation for hearings on the proposed bills. (Jackson is chairman and Kuchel is ranking Republican member of the committee.) In the House, Daddario's subcommittee is expected to continue its hearings some time after Easter, with consideration of specific bills, such as those proposed by Tunney and Dingell. Both Daddario and Representative George P. Miller of California, chairman of the full committee have indicated concern for broad environmental considerations.

While budget sensitivity abounds in the administration and in Congress in these days of limited funds for domestic programs, fortunately none of the pending council proposals involves a large price tag. (A useful guideline: estimated total spending by the Council of Economic Advisors this year is \$861,000.)

A bigger problem is that the idea may simply not generate much enthusiasm in Congress and that the departments may be lukewarm, as they were in 1966 when they said they would prefer to wait for the BOB-OST report to the President.

Although ordered in early 1965, the report wasn't sent to the President until the end of 1967—and then, reportedly, only after much agonized hand wringing and rewriting. As of this writing, the report is still under wraps. There is speculation that some of its recommendations might surface in a special Presidential message—anticipated any day—on the environment. There are also indications of growing uneasiness and sensitivity within the administration that its slogan "natural beauty" is being interpreted by some as a superficial cosmetic approach to environmental ills—that the slogan is being used in an attempt to bury environmental disease under layers of surface treatment and words.

At any rate, it is clear that vigorous, spirited leadership is needed for enactment of pioneering legislation. The President himself could supply this leadership, obviously. It would be a logical extension of his philosophy and public record on resources and environmental issues. He could set up his own ecological advisory committee, without congressional action, some observers note. But they point out such a committee would doubtless lack the prestige it warrants—and that it would not gain the President any political points in Congress.

Perhaps the key factor in the political equation is the public. From a variety of interviews and discussions with agency and congressional sources in Washington, it seems clear that action by Congress is unlikely without considerable public focus and expressions of support for action.

We've had warnings of man's dangerous mishandling of his environment from some scientists, some public officials, segments of the press, some spokesmen for conservation and other citizen organizations. But despite these warnings, the necessary public awareness of the seriousness of the problem does not yet seem to exist. Education and time are necessary ingredients of the legislative process, to be sure.

But do we have time? No one really knows. What is known is that we have had ample warning of the dangers of waiting too long.

#### AN ECOLOGIST LOOKS AT S. 2805

We asked Dr. Raymond F. Dasmann, an ecologist and CF's director of environmental studies, to comment on S. 2805, the Jackson-Kuchel bill. His statement:

"We have become used to coping with the

winds of change, but we are about to be caught in a hurricane of change if our 200 million Americans become 400 million in the next five or six decades, and as our rapidly moving pace of technological advancement begins to be used more extensively to modify the environment to cope with the problems of growth. What we do now in preparation for this hurricane will determine when and to what extent its fury may be abated, and what we will have left when it blows over. S. 2805 represents an attempt at cloud seeding in advance of the storm. It also represents an effort to establish better shelter for the things we value.

"The American environment represents a unit. Man has tied together its most remote parts in an intricate web. Decisions in Washington determine conditions of life everywhere. The environment is unified, but our treatment of it is fragmented by political subdivisions and the delegation of partial responsibility to thousands of separate agencies. In the face of this disunity we seem at times powerless to arrest environmental deterioration. Consequently there is a need for a new approach. The Jackson-Kuchel bill on environmental quality control represents a strong beginning.

"In general, the work called for in Title I is badly needed since it is not being done. Many agencies are concerned with various parts of the environment on various categories of lands; none is responsible for the whole picture. We need to have a continuing review of the status of our environment and the processes of change if we are to identify trouble spots before a crisis develops. It is almost impossible to obtain such a total picture today.

"Title I falls short in not calling specifically for the creation of a new office or bureau concerned with ecological surveys. Interior already has the authority to do most of the things authorized by this act, and is doing many of them. There is some danger that the various duties would be spread out among several agencies and not centralized. We need a centralized office concerned with the total picture. I think this is implied in the act, but not spelled out. Interior should not only maintain an inventory but should evaluate the ecological consequences of these development projects. An inventory by itself is not of much use.

"Title II calls for action that is seriously needed. There is no government agency at present with a responsibility for the total environment. Each is concerned with a segment, an area, or a process. Coordination of concern conceivably could come from committees, but in fact it often does not. Consequently the policies of federal agencies often tend to be limited in purpose, but the implementation of these policies results in effects throughout the American environment. We have seen many examples of controversies among federal agencies which could well have been avoided had there been a sufficiently prestigious group to render an opinion with which the conflicting agencies would feel the need to conform. A national body such as the proposed Council on Environmental Quality could do a great service by presenting an impartial opinion on such controversies.

"Since the council would have no administrative authority or veto power it can only succeed if it is staffed with members who command the highest national prestige and respect. It is no place for the stormy petrels of conservation or the grinders of special interest axes. Its opinions must carry weight; it must act in the knowledge of all available evidence.

"The functions of the council should include the identification of areas and subjects on which federally sponsored research is needed, and the recommendation to the President that such research be instituted and supported. This is recognition of the fact that on many environmental matters we do not



yet have the knowledge necessary to provide a basis for opinion or action."

#### ON ONE BIG SUPER-DEPARTMENT OF NATURAL RESOURCES

The often made proposal to create one big department in the federal establishment to coordinate and control natural resources management has obvious ecological overtones. As early as 1924 it was suggested that Interior be reorganized to encompass all natural resource and public works responsibilities. In 1937, a similar Department of Conservation was proposed. In 1949, a minority report of the first Hoover Commission repeated the suggestion that Interior be turned into a Natural Resources Department. Senator Frank Moss of Utah introduced a bill that would do so just last year (S. 886).

All such proposals have so far run into formidable political opposition and have not gotten anywhere. They arouse the wrath of federal resource agencies, special purpose users of resources, and members of Congress. Even if the obvious political obstacles could be overcome, large questions about one big super-department would remain: Would it be manageable or an administrative monstrosity? Would it help? We leave these questions for possible consideration in a future issue of *CF Letter*. But it would appear that one or a dozen operating departments would not eliminate the need for an independent, objective environmental overview by a body not concerned with day to day programs, politics and decisions.

#### FOOTNOTES

(1) *Science and Survival*, Viking Press, 1963. (2) Testimony before Senate Interior Committee hearing, April 27, 1966. (3) Report of House Science, Research and Development Subcommittee, November, 1966. (4) *CF Letter*, June 13, 1966. (5) *Future Environments of North America*, published for CF by Natural History Press, 1966. (6) *Environmental Improvement*, Agriculture Department Graduate School, 1966. (7) Testimony before House Science and Research Subcommittee, January 17, 1968. (8) Speech to American Institute of Biological Sciences, August 28, 1967. (9) Natural Beauty message to Congress, February 8, 1965. (10) Speech on September 6, 1965. (11) Report of HEW Task Force on Environmental Health and Related Problems, June 1967. (12) In review of U.S. science policy by Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, soon to be published. (13) Congressional Record, vol. 113, pt. 27, p. 36857. (14) Statement to Senate Government Operations subcommittee on intergovernmental relations, March 15, 1967. (15) Statement at July 20, 1966 hearings. (16) *Renewable Resources*, National Academy of Sciences, 1962.

#### WHAT IS THIS THING CALLED ECOLOGY?

"Ecology is the science that deals with the relations between all of the elements in an environment—the ecosystem. It rests upon all of the biological and physical sciences—botany, zoology, chemistry, physics, geology, soil science, meteorology, etc., with their innumerable ramifications—and when man is a part of the environment, the social sciences are also involved. Its distinguishing characteristic is that it uses these sciences in their relations to each other to determine what happens in a given environment, under both natural and modified conditions, and why it happens. In comprehensiveness and complexity, it is unique."

DR. SAMUEL T. DANA,  
Dean Emeritus, University of Michigan,  
School of Natural Resources.

#### INEXORABLE LAWS

"All vainglory to the contrary, man cannot conquer nature. We are a part of nature, bigger and more noisy and destructive than a mouse, but subject to the same inexorable

laws. When the good water is gone, the good soil covered or wasted, the good air tainted, we shall surely perish. This has happened in many times and places.

"We now send food to peoples whose ancestors failed to realize that without soil and trees on the hillside the town in the valley dies, without recognizing that we ourselves are busily engaged in emulating the ancient error."

DR. M. GRAHAM NETTING,  
Director, Carnegie Museum.

#### LET'S HAVE ONE

Everyone's getting into the ecological act. Both Interior and the Smithsonian Institution have a new Office of Ecology. (And both were chided by Congress for setting them up without specific appropriations committee approval.) The Corps of Engineers established an environmental planning branch about a year ago.

The National Academy of Sciences and National Academy of Engineering last year established a nine-member Environmental Studies Board. It was roundly criticized for having a heavy representation from industry, but not a single ecologist. The president of NAE, Eric Walker, reportedly said he was unaware of any complaint and was agreeable to having an ecologist—"Sure, let's have one," *Science* magazine quoted him as saying. The magazine also quoted Dr. LaMont Cole: "The National Academy doesn't know enough about ecology to know how ignorant it is."

#### A FEDERAL PROGRAM FOR AREA-WIDE DEVELOPMENT GRANTS

Mr. McGEE. Mr. President, to help our communities provide the public facilities they need and want, at the lowest cost to all taxpayers, President Johnson has recommended the establishment of a program of areawide incentive grants.

Our communities, both large and small, are faced with increasing demands for public facilities of all kinds—and are increasingly unable to meet these demands on their own. Coordinated efforts to provide a needed service—a library, an airport, a water system—for an entire area are not only financially desirable but financially imperative.

Only by cooperating to support jointly the construction of such facilities on an areawide basis can our towns and cities remain financially stable.

The Federal Government is proposing to encourage and aid such cooperation by this program of incentive grants, to provide additional funds for projects designed to have an impact on an entire area. The projects eligible for help are those most needed and most conducive to orderly community and areawide development.

They include such basic requirements as water systems and sewer lines for healthy, pollution-free living in the growth areas of the Nation; medical facilities to serve the needs of the sick and elderly, including hospitals, nursing homes, and extended care facilities; cultural facilities such as up-to-date libraries to meet the growing demands of our population for more information on more subjects; recreational facilities such as parks and community centers that enhance the quality of our everyday lives in so many ways.

By curbing the tendency toward un-

planned, wasteful, duplicative public facilities, this program would make the taxpayer's dollar worth more—an objective to be sought most seriously at all levels of government.

#### THE PRESIDENT'S REORGANIZATION PLAN FOR URBAN TRANSPORTATION IS AN ESSENTIAL STEP

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, I wish to express my strong support for the proposal made by President Johnson to transfer the urban mass transportation program from the Department of Housing and Urban Development to the Department of Transportation.

I have had a close relationship with the new Department of Transportation—particularly with the high-speed ground transportation program, which I am proud to have helped initiate. I have done everything possible to bring about the development of a program which will provide a rapid rail transportation system along the eastern seaboard of the United States. Within a very short time I expect to see the beginning of passenger service between Boston and New York and New York and Washington, utilizing the very latest rail technology. It is my deep belief that this intercity rail effort, along with all other facets of surface transportation, cannot be separated from the intracity transportation program we now have underway and which we hope to see develop within the near future.

We are a nation of cities. Obviously the key to the needs of most of our city dwellers can be found primarily in their requirements for better transportation inside the metropolitan areas in which they live. But most of them, for reasons of work or recreation, require transportation outside the confines of the urban areas. I believe that the plan for meeting both of those needs should be concentrated in one Federal unit. A short time ago this Congress did focus Federal responsibility for the Nation's transportation system in the Department of Transportation—with the exception of the maritime and urban transportation programs. The President's new proposal would bring under one roof all but the maritime program.

This is an essential step and one which I believe deserves the support of the entire Congress. It will remain for the Department of Transportation to insure that the new modal administration will have a truly equal voice in the planning and execution of a balanced and rational national transportation policy.

#### NORTH DAKOTA WILDLIFE FEDERATION CALL FOR INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON WILDLIFE CONSERVATION

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, in convention on January 20 and 21, 1968, the North Dakota Wildlife Federation passed a resolution calling for the adoption of Senate Concurrent Resolution 41, for the convening of an international conference on the conservation of wildlife. I submitted this resolution in Au-

the battlefield, we could truly say we had accomplished something.

Draft card burning, although it is disrespectful to America and all she stands for, ironically symbolizes freedom. Could you do something like that in the U.S.S.R. and live to tell about it? This may seem to encourage draft card burning. On the contrary, it proves the point. No other nation on earth would allow you this mistake and give you a more than fair opportunity to correct it.

There are many people living outside the United States who are probably better patriots than we are! Granted, some of them don't know what year the Declaration of Independence was signed, but if you mention America and ask their opinion of her they may say, "America? What do I think of when I hear that word? I think of freedom." Remember World War II and how Americans fought to preserve the freedom of France, England, Poland, Rumania, and countless other countries? We fought, not just for their freedom, but for freedom of the whole world. We have lost many battles, but we have won the wars—the wars for freedom, for you, for your children, for God. Our country has dared to do what no other civilization has ever done in all the history of mankind. The Egyptians, Greeks, Romans; all of them conquered, bringing slavery rather than freedom.

It takes courage—every bit of courage you have—to go out and give your life for those you know need it. We must remember that freedom is for everyone, not just a chosen few. It is our duty to fight and die if necessary, for our country and her cause.

All of us pursue life, liberty, and happiness. Too many of us forget their partners work and self-sacrifice. To repeat a phrase, "You can't have your cake and eat it too." We must all do our share. Too often we say, "Oh, let the next guy do it." Remember, in times of doubt our country has always said, I am America . . . you can count on me!

I am proud of Mesa Junior High School. Good citizenship and patriotism are not always highly valued these days. Therefore, it is heartwarming and encouraging to find young people who place importance on these principles which have made and will continue to make America strong. I believe Mesa Junior High School's program could well be a model for other schools throughout our country, and I hope it will be.

#### Award of ROTC Medals by Daughters of American Revolution

**HON. STROM THURMOND**

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, March 8, 1968

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, the March issue of the Daughters of the American Revolution magazine contains an article describing a new project for awarding ROTC medals to outstanding student cadets.

The medal is to be used as means of recognizing and rewarding student cadets of outstanding ability and achievement in all Army, Navy, and Air Force ROTC programs. The awards are sponsored by local DAR chapters and will be presented by a DAR representative on each occasion.

I note with approval that in addition to scholastic achievement the recipients

of this award must have demonstrated other qualities of good character, leadership, and patriotism.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

#### NATIONAL SOCIETY, DAUGHTERS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION ROTC MEDAL AWARDS

The National Defense Committee has, through the years, been aware of the important contribution of the Reserve Officers Training Corps program to the security and defense of our Nation.

Several State DAR Societies have included in their activities the recognition of outstanding student cadets through the awarding of ROTC Medals. Formerly each State has selected its own type of Medal.

At the February 1967 National Board Meeting a motion was passed providing that the ROTC Medals presented in the name of the National Society be standardized and that this project be assigned to the National Defense Committee.

The following explains these awards:

The National Society, Daughters of the American Revolution ROTC Medal project has been established as a means of recognizing and rewarding student cadets of outstanding ability and achievement in secondary school, junior college, college or university ROTC programs—Army, Naval, and Air Force.

Awards to students shall be sponsored by DAR Chapters. The presentation of Medals is to be made by a Chapter Regent, a National Defense Chairman, or a DAR representative appointed by them.

The following are rules for the DAR ROTC Medal project:

1. Awards may be made to student cadets who have demonstrated their loyalty and patriotism, and who have earned a record of military and scholastic achievement during their participation in a ROTC program.

2. The bronze Medal is for students in Junior ROTC programs in secondary schools.

3. The gold Medal is for students in the Senior ROTC programs at colleges or universities.

4. Recipients of these awards will receive, also, a ribbon bar which may be worn in lieu of the Medal when appropriate.

5. Selection of students to receive the DAR ROTC awards shall be made by professors of military science and the principal or head of schools, junior colleges, colleges or universities.

a. Not more than one student of a graduating class in a secondary school Junior ROTC program may be the recipient each year of the DAR ROTC bronze Medal.

b. Not more than one student of a graduating class in a college or university Senior ROTC program may be selected each year for the DAR gold Medal award.

6. Criteria for the selection of students to receive the DAR ROTC award are as follows:

a. Students must be in the upper 25% of their classes in ROTC and in academic subjects.

b. Students must have demonstrated qualities of dependability and good character, adherence to military discipline, leadership ability, and a fundamental and patriotic understanding of the importance of ROTC training.

7. Requests for Medals may be made by the professor of military science to local DAR Chapter Regents. If local DAR contacts are unavailable, information may be obtained from the National Defense Committee, NSDAR, 1776 D Street, N. W., Washington, D.C. 20006.

#### Environmental Quality Hearings

**HON. GEORGE P. MILLER**

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, March 8, 1968

Mr. MILLER of California. Mr. Speaker, one of the major national goals toward which the Congress has worked in recent years has been providing a sound base of legislation to apply our full knowledge and management of science resources in the pursuit of better quality for air and water.

We know that man must rest his decisions on more complete knowledge of ecology, and we have, in the past few years, built and supported many programs which are adding to the scientific knowledge we need in this quest. Earlier this year, the Committee on Science and Astronautics began hearings to explore the strategy and management planning which has underlain growing Government-funded research, development, and demonstration projects affecting environmental quality.

This has been a rewarding and fruitful inspection. The Subcommittee on Science, Research and Development, under the chairmanship of Mr. DADDARIO, has interviewed leading scientists from all parts of the Nation and all engaged in this work to measure its progress. This has inevitably identified new leads to promising information, and the subcommittee will resume hearings on environmental quality on Tuesday morning, March 12.

It has been several years now since the committee first touched on questions concerned with environmental quality. In that time, there has been growing attention paid to the issues involved, more legislation introduced to proffer suggested solutions, national magazine articles which have discussed the dilemma of the Nation. I believe it would be of interest to all our Members to note the points which Mr. DADDARIO is making in his analysis of the continued hearings and I offer them for the RECORD, as follows:

#### ENVIRONMENTAL QUALITY HEARINGS

We have already entered the era of ecological management—the time when man must base his decisions on knowledge of an entire ecosystem and its future status, not just local short-term effects.

I make this rather sweeping, positive assertion because the testimony in these hearings on Environmental Quality makes it clear that any alternative procedure for society contains great and immediate hazards.

We are all aware of the excited voices which urgently present examples of unanticipated consequences of applied technology—and we need to listen to them. We are all aware that our standard of living depends on an expanding industrial economy, accelerated by scientific research and development—and we want to maintain these conditions for ourselves and extend them to all peoples of the world.

These viewpoints are not contradictory in my opinion—for man is the dominant species. It is not wrong to manipulate nature for the benefit of human beings. Applied science and technology have momentum and direction of themselves but they can be con-

trolled by man. Our objective should not be to conquer nature but to harmonize our activities with the environment.

My optimism stems from the conviction that our instincts and precepts in the progress of civilization have been right and are right today. The complexity of decision-making has increased enormously—but so has the collective knowledge and the means of applying it. Courage is indicated, not despair.

Dr. Stanley Cain, in commenting on human ecology in an industrial society, makes the point in this way: "When the focus of attention is on man, we find that in most situations he has become a predominant influence in nature. In going about his biological business, that is, in attempting to solve his fundamental problem of the acquisition of needed matter and energy, he has been remodeling the natural world and bending it to his will. If there is any growing revulsion to this, it is not because of his intentions but because of his mistakes."

Thus, I see the era of ecological manage-

ment as an opportunity to eliminate these mistakes by applying every skill at our disposal. The systems approach to management of the environment is an obviously useful concept. But the prerequisites for systems analysis are an accurate model and good data on the present status of the system. Both are lacking for the natural environment and both requirements are the subject of ecology.

In our 1966 report, we stressed the potential for this unifying, synthesizing, integrative discipline. And we made the judgment (constructively intended) that "ecology, as an organized profession, is not in good condition to become the umbrella for increased research."

Since that time the International Biological Program has begun to gel and I am enthusiastic about its possibilities for greatly advancing our knowledge of the environment and its productivity. About March 20th, the Subcommittee will release a report on the IBP which will be a comprehensive and critical evaluation of the entire program. We will

have some strong recommendations for its future. It is my intent to introduce new legislation based on the report and then to hold hearings on this legislation in mid April.

Ecology is a major discipline in the IBP organization and I am pleased to have an opportunity in these hearings to bring out more detailed information on this science and profession.

Today, we will hear from some outstanding ecologists who have not been content to remain at their "Waldens" but have taken up the task of bringing their profession into the arena of public affairs.

Our witnesses are:

Dr. LaMont C. Cole, (Cornell University) president of the Ecological Society of America; accompanied by Dr. John E. Cantlon, (Michigan State University), President-elect of the Ecological Society, and Dr. Frederick Sargent II, (University of Wisconsin-Green Bay) Chairman of the Committee on Human Ecology, Dr. Edward S. Deevey, National Science Foundation, Section Head, Environmental Sciences and Biology.

## HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES—Monday, March 11, 1968

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Chaplain, Rev. Edward G. Latch, D.D., offered the following prayer:

*What is impossible with men is possible with God.*—Luke 18: 27.

O God of life and love, by whose creative spirit we have the gift of a new day and in whose sustaining presence we are given strength for these hectic hours, we pause in silence before Thee ere the pressure of persistent duties lays its demanding hands upon us.

We would yield our lives to Thee and go forth into the day strengthened with Thine unflinching spirit in our hearts and sustained by an unfaltering trust in the wisdom of Thy way. In these troubled and trying times give us the courage that never fails, the faith that never falters, and the hope that never fades.

Upon our President, our Speaker, the Members of this body, the leaders of our Armed Forces, upon all who make decisions which determine our destiny grant wisdom that they may be wise, strength that they may be made strong, and love that they may be filled with good will. Together may we meet the issues of these days with honor to ourselves, to our Nation, and to Thee.

In the name of Him who went about doing good we pray. Amen.

### THE JOURNAL

The Journal of the proceedings of Thursday, March 7, 1968, was read and approved.

### MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT

A message in writing from the President of the United States was communicated to the House by Mr. Jones, one of his secretaries.

### MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A message from the Senate by Mr. Arrington, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate agrees to the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the

amendments of the House to the bill (S. 889) entitled "An act to designate the San Rafael Wilderness, Los Padres National Forest, in the State of California."

The message also announced that the Senate agrees to the amendment of the House to a joint resolution of the Senate of the following title:

S.J. Res. 123. Joint resolution to approve long-term contracts for delivery of water from Navajo Reservoir in the State of New Mexico, and for other purposes.

### R. K. JONES—CONFERENCE REPORT

Mr. ASHMORE submitted a conference report and statement on the bill (S. 454) for the relief of R. K. Jones.

### THE NATIONAL GUARD UNFAIRLY CRITICIZED BY U.S. RIOT COMMISSION'S REPORT

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Mississippi?

There was no objection.

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Mr. Speaker, the section of the U.S. Riot Commission's report dealing with the National Guard's participation in the riots was vague, unfair, and unrealistic.

To be specific, the Commission's first report in August 1967 called for a review of standards of all National Guard officers, casting a reflection on the whole Guard. Actually the standards to become a National Guard officer are the same or higher than those to become a Regular Army officer.

Second, the Guard was criticized for not having had proper riot training. The training program is designated by the Continental Army Command and called for little or no riot training. So, Guard commanders had no choice.

Third, the report says the National Guard did not have the proper equipment and communications to handle riots. The Guard units have not had the

proper equipment to train an outfit since World War I.

It seems to me the whole report reflects writing and editing by persons against the good guys such as the policemen, firemen, and National Guardsmen of this country.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to point out that the same National Guard structure upon whom this report casts doubt has had 9,200 of these citizen soldiers called to active duty recently; 99.6 percent of the men were on duty 24 hours later. So a lot of money will not have to be spent or a commission appointed to find out if they showed up. The Guardsmen love their country and they reported to active duty ready to get the job done.

### WHY REWARD VIOLENCE?

Mr. SCHERLE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Iowa? There was no objection.

Mr. SCHERLE. Mr. Speaker, a perfect example of why there is a general breakdown of law and order in our society was apparent recently when a gang of militant youths stormed into the private office of a Cabinet member, damaged Government property, stole personal mementos, and exacted promises of Federal money for a dying poverty program.

This is a criminal act, and one which the Justice Department should investigate immediately. It is not a reason for reward.

It is incredible enough that a gang of hoodlums should be allowed to run rampant through the office of Labor Secretary Willard Wirtz, destroying taxpayers' property and stealing personal possessions. But it is even more incredible that a high Government official would tolerate such a situation and reward this gang by promising support to obtain Federal money to meet their demands. This is nothing less than personal weakness or yielding to intimidation.

GILBERT, HELSTOSKI, KARTH, KASTENMEIER, KUPFERMAN, LEGGETT, PODELL, REES, REUSS, ROSENTHAL, ROYBAL, RYAN, SCHEUER, WILLIAMS of Pennsylvania, and myself.

I include at this point a statement by my colleague, the gentleman from New York [Mr. BINGHAM]:

STATEMENT BY CONGRESSMAN JONATHAN B. BINGHAM

I have joined with my able colleague from New York, Mr. Wolff, in cosponsoring a concurrent resolution to repeal the so-called Tonkin Gulf resolution because I believe the latter is a kind of symbol of a mistaken U.S. policy with regard to Vietnam—a policy which today reflects a series of mistakes which began in 1945 when we permitted the French to go back into Indochina, thus reversing the view held by President Roosevelt, which continued through years of increased American involvement, particularly after 1954, and which culminated with the decisions of 1965 when the United States started sending its own forces into combat both in South Vietnam and in bombing and shelling attacks on North Vietnam. These last decisions, for which the Tonkin Gulf resolution was taken to be congressional authorization, made the conflict an American war with South Vietnamese support, instead of a South Vietnamese war with American support.

In the present mood of the Congress, I am under no illusion that the concurrent resolution introduced today may be adopted. Its introduction, therefore, is more in the nature of a protest against the present policies which have led us deeper and deeper into the morass of an unwinnable war.

If circumstances were to change so that serious consideration might be given to the concurrent resolution, its present abbreviated form would no doubt have to be substantially amended and amplified. As a practical matter, the simple repeal of the Tonkin Gulf resolution, without additional statements of policy as to the course which should be taken, would produce confusion. Many questions would remain unanswered as to the intent of the Congress with regard to the disposition and future role of the American forces now deployed in the area.

I venture to say that many more Members would have joined in cosponsoring this resolution if it were not for this practical problem of how we go about undoing what has long since been done. It is safe to say, I believe, that the vote on the original Tonkin Gulf resolution would have been a very different one if the then membership of the House had been able to foresee the situation we would be in today, 3 years later.

The resolution offered by our colleagues Messrs. UDALL and FINDLEY a few weeks ago drew wide support because it sought to open the policy questions regarding Southeast Asia. I view Mr. Wolff's resolution as another method of achieving the goal of securing a reevaluation of our policy.

#### INTRODUCTION OF LEGISLATION TO IMPROVE CIVIL SERVICE RETIREMENT PROGRAM

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, I have introduced today a comprehensive bill designed to modernize the civil service retirement system.

The bill brings together in one measure an array of changes and improve-

ments in benefits which previously have been proposed individually and already are before our Retirement Subcommittee in various forms.

There is support for updating our civil service retirement system so as to bring it closer to a par with retirement programs in progressive private industry.

My bill deals with the shortcomings and inequities which have been of the most concern to postal and other rank-and-file Federal employees. There also is provision for financing the benefits.

Any changes in the retirement system, however, must be studied carefully and it is my feeling that if we are going to make any changes at all we should look at the overall picture and act accordingly, rather than proceeding piecemeal.

Following is an explanation of the features of my bill:

First, premium pay: Many Federal employees, such as agents in the customs, immigration, narcotics, and alcohol tax services, as well as law enforcement employees, consistently are required to work overtime as part of their jobs. Their premium pay for this overtime work is not now considered in computing their retirement benefits. My bill corrects this situation by providing for calculation of retirement benefits on the basis of both regular and premium pay earned by an employee.

Second, annuity computation formula: Under present law, the formula for computing an employee's earned annuity is his average salary multiplied by 1½ percent for each of his first 5 years of service; by 1¼ percent for each of his next 5 years of service; and by 2 percent for each year of service in excess of 10. Under my bill, once an employee has reached the 10-year mark his computation formula will be changed to 2 percent for each year of his total service. The lower percentages will apply only to annuities based on less than 10 years of service. This change is in keeping with the underlying principle that the civil service retirement plan is a career program.

Third, penalty for survivorship provisions: A retiring employee today must take reductions of 2½ percent on the first \$3,600, and 10 percent on all over \$3,600, of his earned annuity to provide benefits for a surviving spouse. The \$3,600 point, at which the 10 percent charge begins, was set years ago when living costs were far lower than they are today. It works an undue hardship on employees who retire on small annuities. My bill would apply the much fairer 2½ percent reduction to the first \$4,800 of earned annuity, so that the 10 percent would affect only annuities in excess of that amount. The net annuity gain for a lower paid employee would be \$90 a year.

Fourth, surviving children: Survivorship benefits for a child were fixed nearly 12 years ago at \$600 a year if there is one surviving parent and \$720 per year if there is no surviving parent. My bill increases each of those benefits by \$120 a year. Benefits for the child with one surviving parent will be \$720 a year and the child with no surviving parents will receive \$840 a year.

Fifth, surviving spouse benefits: To-

day, when an employee dies, his surviving spouse, with certain exceptions, receives 55 percent of the employee's earned annuity. This percentage relationship was last adjusted in 1962. My bill would raise the figure to 60 percent. This is justified not only on the basis of increased living costs but in order to maintain near parity with the adjustments made last year in the Social Security Act.

Sixth, automatic cost-of-living adjustment formula: In substance, present law grants automatic annuity adjustments effective on the first day of the third month that begins after the Consumer Price Index has risen at least 3 percent for 3 consecutive months above its level when the last previous annuity increase was effected. This creates a substantial—and often very burdensome—lapse of time after living costs have increased before the retiree gets any relief. My bill reduces the timelag by approximately two-fifths by making the automatic adjustment effective at the start of the second month after the Price Index has risen by 2 percent for 2 consecutive months.

Seventh, financing: The financial condition of the civil service retirement system is, of course, a matter of first concern to me as chairman of the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service. My bill will cause no increase whatever in the financial obligations of the retirement system. The bill specifically provided that increased contributions by covered employees—7 percent instead of the present 6½—with matching agency contributions and regular appropriation procedures, will guarantee the necessary funding.

The changes in the civil service retirement system which I am proposing will be referred to our Retirement Subcommittee and I am asking the subcommittee to give them thorough consideration.

#### ENVIRONMENTAL EQUALITY

Mr. DADDARIO. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend my remarks, and to include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Connecticut?

There was no objection.

Mr. DADDARIO. Mr. Speaker, environmental quality is an issue which polarizes viewpoints between the extremes of conservationists and recalcitrant vested interests. In the hearings of the Subcommittee on Science, Research, and Development of the Committee on Science and Technology we have been seeking objective testimony to separate out the high priority action programs in pollution abatement. There is much more to be done than annual budgets and manpower limitations will afford. Thus, a strategy of waste management is necessary which will concentrate action on well defined problems where feasible solutions exist.

A recent editorial by Mr. Melvin J. Josephs in *Environmental Science and Technology* states:

The pressures for environmental improvement are mounting rapidly. Thus, reasonable

men must accelerate their participation in reasonable and coordinated action to improve the environment if we are to avoid the wastefulness of over-reaction.

Under unanimous consent, I insert the editorial referred to, as follows:

**EXISTING TECHNOLOGY CAN ALLEVIATE POLLUTION IN UNITED STATES**

Like projects anywhere, projects in the Federal Government relating to environmental management have proliferated. So, to keep track of what its various agencies are up to, the Federal Council for Science and Technology's Committee on Environmental Quality established, about six months ago, a Subcommittee on Research, Development, and Demonstration. This subcommittee has already come up with what may be the best estimate of the Federal Government's spending for pollution research, development, and demonstration—\$251 million in fiscal year 1968 (see page 90).

The estimate is derived largely from a survey of about 30 departments and agencies that at least in some measure have been funding either intramural or extramural programs. The data cannot be an accurate accounting, because in many cases the research which leads to pollution control has other objectives—the pollution control consequences are in those cases examples of serendipity. From this survey, however, will come more than a simple accounting. The subcommittee will assist the decisionmaking groups in government—Congress, Office of Science and Technology, for example—to determine the extent, direction, and speed appropriate for the Federal Government's pollution control efforts.

But what is appropriate? A variety of answers were provided in recent testimony on the subject at hearings conducted by the House Committee on Science and Astronautics' Subcommittee on Science, Research, and Development (the Daddario committee). Yet all the testimony had one answer in common: technology already in existence can be used to give some measure of control now.

Dr. Leon W. Weinberger (FWPCA), while emphasizing the important role of research and development in solving the nation's water pollution problems, noted that many of these problems "can be alleviated by application of existing technology. In fact," he said, "in the immediate future, the most significant progress will be made in this way."

On the subject of air pollution, Dr. R. E. Eckardt, speaking for the American Petroleum Institute, observed: "We recognize that in some cases tentative judgments must be made, in spite of gaps in our knowledge. We recognize that society cannot afford to wait until every last shred of evidence is in before taking reasonable action." Yet, he cautioned, "As new evidence is developed, a reassessment, and possibly new judgments, will have to be made."

And in the area of solid waste disposal, the nation can improve its practices—"and it can do it now," said Dr. Richard D. Vaughan, Chief of PHS's Solid Wastes Program. "We have the technology to do it now," he continued, "and we are working to improve this technology and develop techniques which are not only more effective but more economical."

In his opening remarks, Subcommittee Chairman Emilio Q. Daddario noted: "We should not, need not, and will not wait upon research to act where we recognize the problem and have a feasible solution. On the other hand, it would be wasteful of time and resources to pursue a crash program where quality deterioration is only vaguely established or where abatement costs probably outweigh benefits."

Still one other kind of answer demands attention. Responding to subcommittee questions, Dr. Eckardt said that he believed that air pollution will be controlled—should

be controlled—but that it will probably not be controlled solely on the basis of health. Rather, he noted, we'll clear the air simply because people are sick and tired of the stench.

The pressures for environmental improvement are mounting rapidly. Thus, reasonable men must accelerate their participation in reasonable and coordinated action to improve the environment if we are to avoid the wastefulness of over-reaction.

**OUR DISTINGUISHED COLLEAGUE FROM PATMAN'S SWITCH**

Mr. CASEY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend my remarks, and to include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

Mr. CASEY. Mr. Speaker, no man in this great body has more loyal friends, or is held in higher esteem, than our distinguished colleague, the gentleman from Texas, WRIGHT PATMAN.

He has served honorably and well for 40 years, and is outranked in seniority by only two other great Members, Speaker McCORMACK and Representative EMANUEL CELLER. We, in the Texas delegation, are especially proud of the dean of our delegation and his great career in this body.

It was particularly gratifying to me to read in the Houston Chronicle's Texas magazine last Sunday a warm and penetrating story about WRIGHT PATMAN. Because I know that his friends and colleagues will appreciate having the opportunity to read the article, I place it at this point in the Record:

**THAT MAN FROM PATMAN'S SWITCH**

(By Lucille Uytterlinde)

Young Wright Patman spotted three men sitting under a tree.

"Ah ha," he thought, "three potential voters."

The trio watched him idly as he ambled up.

"Howdy," Patman said. "I'm running for Congress. You all heard of it around here?"

They fixed him with a steady gaze, then one replied, "Yeah, we heard about it. We heard 'em laughin' about it."

It happened on a sleepy morning 40 years ago, in the tiny community of Weaver near Sulphur Springs. And it contributed nothing to the confidence of the neophyte campaigner; he'd already vowed that if he lost this first race for Congress he'd quit politics.

But he didn't lose, and today U.S. Rep. Wright Patman of Texarkana is outranked in seniority by only two men, Speaker McCORMACK and Rep. Celler of New York.

He is unopposed for re-election to his 21st term, which is not surprising. According to newspaper editor J. Q. Mahaffey of Texarkana, folks in the First Congressional District say that "if Wright Patman can't get it done, it can't be done in Washington." The Texas congressman has built up considerable seniority, and with that seniority, influence.

He is variously known as the second most important Texan in Washington, close friend of Lyndon Johnson, scourge of the banking industry and the Federal Reserve Board, and the last of the great populists.

Patman is chairman of the prestigious House Banking and Currency Committee, and is so frequently in the financial news that the New York Times once said that he often is the financial news.

He also is ranking member of the House Select Committee on Small Business, chairman of the joint House-Senate Committee on Defense Production, and vice chairman of the joint House-Senate Economic Committee.

Most committee chairmen and the industries their committees oversee have amicable relationships. Not so Wright Patman and the banking industry. He is an embattled committee chairman, and when he and William McChesney Martin, chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, meet in the awesome House Banking and Currency Committee's hearing room, there is a packed house to hear their verbal exchanges.

Their opinion as to what is best for the country on money and credit matters are irreconcilable, and acrimonious statements sometimes electrify the atmosphere.

Even so, Chairman Martin in 1965 said: "Chairman Patman and I have been friends for years. We disagree frequently but never with personal animosity. He has asked for my resignation four times this year but I bear no ill will. I have told him that if I decide to resign I will let him know promptly."

The "Fed," as Patman calls the Federal Reserve System, is out of his reach, and it is probably the biggest frustration of his long life as a legislator.

Patman says he is trying to "make the Federal Reserve System responsive to the best interests of the people of the United States." He wants to shorten terms of members of the board, require audits of the system's books, and require that the system go to Congress for appropriations. He also wants the board chairman to go out of office with the president who appoints him.

His plan would give the Congress and the administration more control over monetary matters. The "hard money" proponents say that is just what the Federal Reserve Board was set up to prevent.

Patman's unrelenting fight against the "hard money" forces has brought forth from him many statements such as this:

"If we allow the bankers, who profit from high interest, to continue to fix the interest rates, they will soon have a high interest mortgage on all the usable property in the country. They do not want to own it, as that would require them to pay taxes on it. They much prefer to have a tax-exempt lien on it."

Consistent and persistent are two words which describe Wright Patman. He makes decisions only after considerable study and documentation, then firmly adheres to them.

The thread that runs through the entire fabric of his legislative career is his determination to work in behalf of the "little people." Fortune magazine once referred to him as the "Warrior From Patman Switch." (He was born at Patman Switch, in Morris County, named for his family and a Katy Railroad switch.)

Patman has become a folk hero to a tremendous majority of the people in his 17-county district, and also to many people throughout the country.

He has been a consistent champion of rural electrification, legislation in behalf of the family farmer, soil conservation and water resource measures, of rural area development and legislation providing aid to the development of small towns and small business. He has opposed concentration of economic power, monopoly and corporate mergers which, in his opinion, diminish effective competition. He has conducted major investigations into tax-exempt private foundations looking for abuses of the tax laws.

Most of his mail from home relates to personal or community problems, not matters of national or international significance. The biggest volume of letters concerning his legislative activities is written by non-Texans. They run to comments something like this, from a Spokane, Wash., locomotive engineer:



many and varied subjects. Once in a while, however, a letter comes in which stands apart. I recently received such a communication. It has been signed by a Negro religious prayer group and expresses a thought that gives hope to the future.

Nothing I could say would add to the deep, sound contents of this communication. In its simplicity there is sincerity. In its expressions, there is knowledge. In its appeal there is logic. I am bringing the letter to your attention for the value each of you might wish to place on it.

NEW ORLEANS, LA.,  
June 12, 1968.

Congressman F. EDWARD HEBERT,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN: I was selected from our little Religious Group to write you some facts about the income exemption laws of \$600.00 per person for a year . . . how can a person live on such a small amount of money? We are asking for at least \$1200.00 a year for a dependent and the Government will not have to throw away so much money on poverty programs by having to pay a large salary to the higher up to issue the money to the jobless . . . by the time it gets to the needy all the money is gone and the jobless don't have nothing to live on. But if he has a job and knows that he can have \$1200.00 for each one of his dependents, he will be happy and will work harder because he can get the necessities of life and a little of the luxuries of life. Everything has gone up . . . one dollar in 1968 is worth only twenty-five cents.

The President said in a speech that he is sending out people to study violence. That is some more of our tax money being thrown away. No one in God's Green Earth can study that. Just ask the head of each family household to reason with their own families and conscience . . . how to have love in their own heart for their fellowman . . . to live and let others live . . . to help those who can't help themselves by providing proper public education and jobs and by all means, put Christ back in the public schools and colleges by having the Lord's Prayer said every morning and by blessing the food at noonday, then thanking Christ when the day is done for their lives.

Now if the Ways and Means Committee can find a little love in their hearts and reason with their own conscience to give us just about one-eighth of what it takes them to live and be happy . . . let us have a little bit of happiness . . . this world will be much better to live in.

Thanking you in advance to see that this message gets to the right hands in the White House.

In God We Trust,  
Mr. and Mrs. FRANK ADAMS,  
Rev. and Mrs. ISAIAH TOUSSANT,  
Rev. and Mrs. JACKSON PHILLIPS,  
Mrs. HARRIET J. MARYLAND,  
Mrs. GERTRUDE H. MATTHEWS,  
Mrs. ALPHRODIE HILLS,  
Mrs. MAGRUIRTE BLAZIO,  
Mrs. IDA AYERS,  
(Religious Prayer Group of Faith, Hope, and Love).

PFC. BLANE M. RUBY, ON PATROL  
IN VIETNAM

HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
Wednesday, June 19, 1968

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, Pfc. Blane M. Ruby, a fine young man

from Maryland, was killed recently in Vietnam. I wish to commend his courage and honor his memory by including the following article in the RECORD:

PFC. BLANE M. RUBY, ON PATROL IN VIETNAM

A young Baltimore marine who had been in Vietnam a little more than a month has been killed in action, the Defense Department reported yesterday.

He is Pfc. Blane M. Ruby, 19, son of Mr. and Mrs. Stanley L. Ruby, of 1514 Gleneagle road.

The Defense Department said Private Ruby was killed June 5 by gunshot wounds in the head received while on patrol in Quang Tri province.

His mother said yesterday that Private Ruby entered the Marines October 14, 1967, and went to Vietnam April 27. An infantryman, he was a member of Company C, 1st Battalion, 1st Marine Regiment.

#### BORN IN CUMBERLAND

Born in Cumberland, Private Ruby moved to Baltimore in 1958. He attended Woodbourne Junior High School and graduated from Mergenthaler Vocational-Technical Senior High School in 1966.

After graduation, he worked for Raymore Builders, Inc., and Schmidt Fords Sales, Inc., as a truck driver and mechanic, before enlisting in the Marines.

Besides his parents, he is survived by three brothers, David S. Ruby, of Baltimore, Air Force Sgt. Francis L. Ruby stationed at Biloxi, Miss., and Seaman Gary W. Ruby, stationed aboard the U.S.S. Puget Sound.

Sgt. Francis Ruby returned in October after serving one year in Vietnam.

#### LIKE IT IS, BABY—IX

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 19, 1968

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, I insert in the RECORD the following article, which appeared in a Minneapolis Star series entitled, "Poverty in Minneapolis: Like It Is, Baby":

#### THE TEENS: WANTING A FUTURE NOW

Marie Smith, 11, will be a teen-ager in two years, although to look at her you would say she already is.

She "matured fast," explained her mother in one of our talks about what it's like to be poor in Minneapolis.

Marie dresses in teen-age styles hemmed up to fit her because she's too large to wear children's sizes. She requires a brassiere.

Mrs. Smith is trying to keep Marie away from drinking and smoking and hopes she will grow up to be a "nice girl."

Sex has not yet become a major problem for Marie, and her mother says she will wait a while before she worries about that.

Mrs. Smith hopes to help Marie avoid the problems she herself has had—pregnant at 14, married and divorced before she was 18 and on Aid to Families with Dependent Children by the time she was 20.

In her neighborhood, marked by high juvenile delinquency and illegitimacy rates, however, she may have greater problems than if she lived in a comfortable middle-class suburb.

Even in her own family, Mrs. Smith can find examples of the problems teen-agers face.

Her aunt Esther, for example, has eight children, six of them teen-agers.

"All of them have been sent up," said Mrs. Smith.

The six, she said, have all been to the Hennepin County Home School at Glen Lake,

Minnetonka, and to the State Training School for Boys at Red Wing.

Their ages range from 13 to 19, and they have been imprisoned for "mostly everything except robbing," said Mrs. Smith, including stealing, and not going to school.

#### GO OUT AND TAKE IT

"They just want to have their own way," said Mrs. Smith. "If you don't give them what they want, they going to go out and take it."

Their mother is, of course, upset about the situation.

"She's called the police on them, told them to take them back." But the youths continue to be problems.

The aunt "can't do nothing about it," said Mrs. Smith. "She let them get out of hand. She say she's doing the best she can."

Some of the youths have been involved in antipoverty and school programs designed partly to discourage delinquency. But they don't stay with the programs longer than they want to.

"They don't want to keep it up," said Mrs. Smith.

Mrs. Smith said she has little contact with the police. Someone called them to the area once, and they came to her house by mistake, she said.

"I don't have no trouble with them," she said. "They're not sassy."

She had no trouble with police or neighbors during last summer's violence along Plymouth Av., she said.

She was "kinda scared," she said. She packed up her children and took them to her sister's house, a few blocks further south of Plymouth.

"Nothing came down here," she said, and she added that she was not very worried about the violence "just so they don't kill someone."

"They never did bother us this side of Plymouth," she said, "because most of us over here are colored people."

The violence itself had little effect on Mrs. Smith. The long-range effects may be more serious, although they may not be so obvious. They include lowering of property values, and the loss of businesses along Plymouth.

"We ain't got nowhere for groceries," said Mrs. Smith. She noted that a Goodwill store which had been on Plymouth closed after the riots. A food store, burned out when a Molotov cocktail was tossed through its window, has not reopened.

#### SHOOT, SHOOT, SHOOT

Mrs. Smith said she wished there were a store near her along Plymouth where she could buy groceries and one where she could buy clothes.

Such problems, and others, make Mrs. Smith want to leave the neighborhood.

"The kids fight too much," she said, and she has neighbors who "shoot, shoot, shoot" guns all night. "I just sit and shake," she said.

#### CHALLENGE FOR A BETTER ENVIRONMENT

HON. RICHARD L. OTTINGER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 19, 1968

Mr. OTTINGER. Mr. Speaker, Assistant Secretary of the Interior Max N. Edwards recently gave a thoughtful and thought-provoking speech on the nature of the environmental crisis confronting us today. In the course of that speech, he suggested that there is a serious need to develop more adequate communication between the executive and legislative branches of the Government on these

issues. To open up this communication, Secretary Edwards proposes a periodic and comprehensive review of and report on resource policies by the executive branch of Government, followed by congressional review of that report, supported by informed public discussion and analysis of the executive report.

This is an interesting and imaginative idea, and I feel that it merits careful consideration. To facilitate that consideration, I include Mr. Edwards' speech in the RECORD:

REMARKS BY MAX N. EDWARDS, ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR FOR WATER POLLUTION CONTROL, BEFORE THE FONTANA CONSERVATION ROUNDUP, FONTANA DAM, NORTH CAROLINA, MAY 17, 1968

A great number of articles are being written these days and a lot is being said about the gradual erosion of the kind of environment man must have to sustain life on this planet. Many ecologists paint a very gloomy picture of life in the next century. Some tell us that continued destruction of our forests, plant life and estuaries, coupled with the earth's increased emission of carbon dioxide and sulfur oxide, will reduce the oxygen in the atmosphere to catastrophic, low levels.

Some prophets of darkness warn us of another ice age slowly eroding the Great Plains or polar ice caps melting and submerging every coastal city in the world lying less than 300 feet above sea level.

Yet another school insists that in our quest for a greater gross national product we can be assured of irrevocably destroying our sensitive ecological balance by excessively nourishing our creature comforts.

One simple truth of the matter is that Americans have forever been victims of the promoter who has always insisted that "bigger and more" is always best—or at least good enough. Some of us know better but we still cling to the short term profit philosophy of our forebearers. The real estate promoter is forever urging taller buildings and greater subdivisions with little thought to the total environment he molds or destroys. The automobile dealer has been so successful in his trade that we are assured that 40 percent more automobiles will be on our highways and in our parking lots in just 12 years. The roadbuilder's concern is pavement to the horizon for the use and enjoyment of just this generation. To say that he is oblivious to the destruction of park lands and forests, trout streams, and swimming holes, historic places and monuments would be uncharitable. He knows the consequences of these concrete bastions, but to the highwayman it is the Manifest Destiny of the Twentieth Century. And when his monotonous freeways from coast to coast are complete and firmly fixed John Steinbeck reminds us in his delightful book, *Travels with Charlie*, that it will be possible to travel all the way from New York City to Los Angeles and see absolutely nothing.

Too often our political authorities at all levels of Government are goaded into decisions affecting our vital natural resources by financial pressures of more jobs, more taxes, and more industrial expansion. The catchy slogan "We want payrolls—Not picnics" for several years effectively beat back support to add a unique and scenic midwestern lake-shore area to our national park system.

Opposition to many construction projects in the past has been tantamount to resisting progress. The question of course is what constitutes progress. Is the dam or highway which wipes out the ecology of an entire area justified because it is more expedient and less costly? I submit that to preserve the integrity of our air, water and land resources we may expect in the future to pay more for less expedient highways, automo-

biles, electric power, agricultural crops, housing and real estate.

Pay more for less? This seems an anathema to our national system. But on fuller analysis, paying more means buying more—a better living space and a climate for economic and social well-being. The problem has come from our inability to see the social and long-term costs of "more" without "better." Or if we see the costs we cannot give them a dollar figure, so conclude they are worthless.

Paying more for automobiles will be worth it if they have effective emission control devices. Paying more for electricity will be buying more if we buy thermal pollution control of our waters.

Discounting all of the offensive billboards, neon signs and auto junk yards, the toxic wastes we pour into the atmosphere and into our lakes and streams should give sufficient alarm to the present course until we know more about where we are going.

A number of respected scientists predict that our end will not be in nuclear holocaust or by colliding with another planet, but by suffocating in our own waste and poison, by the gradual destruction of our ecology. Even the late Robert Frost had a philosophic quandary which might be worth repeating here. He says it with mixed emotions.

#### "FIRE AND ICE"

"Some say the world will end in fire.

Some say in ice.

From what I've tasted of desire

I hold with those who favor fire.

But if it had to perish twice,

I think I know enough of hate

To say that for destruction ice

Is also great

And would suffice."

Other equally respected men of science scoff at these pessimistic predictions and ridicule their colleagues as peddlers of avant-garde scientific fiction. Whether these morbid prognostications are scientifically sound is open to debate. Yet, that being the case, it would be appropriate, indeed mandatory, that we proceed with caution and some degree of certainty in our efforts to reduce nature to the will of man. For today's comfort and convenience may be tomorrow's agony and bewilderment; this generation's profit may cost another's bankruptcy.

The classic example of economic and social myopia in America is witnessed in the great cities who throughout our history have used conveniently located streams and lakes as open sewers for filth, refuse, and waste of every kind.

Public tolerance for this practice grew from a false notion that the supply of water was endless and that people and their factories had a right to a quick and convenient disposal route. As apparent and offensive as this practice was even in the beginning, no one questioned the modus operandi of the early manufacturers and towns. Water was available in abundance, making quality no problem. But this is no longer true. The water per person has decreased with population growth and wastes have increased. Space between towns and factories has disappeared. Everyone now lives in someone else's backyard. One man's junkyard is another's living space. Our old and bad environmental habits and attitudes in this context must change if we are to have a livable world.

A part of that "myth of superabundance" which Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall refers to in his book, *The Quiet Crisis*, has left every river basin in the contiguous United States polluted. The question of utmost importance is whether industry, government and all levels of society together have the capacity and determination to reverse the trend toward greater water pollution in an economy so vitally dependent upon readily available supplies of clean water.

Now we treat our oceans in the same reckless manner as we did our inland lakes, streams, and estuaries in the 1800's and early 1900's. To most, the sea, if not bottomless, is limitless in its capacity to absorb the wastes of our society. The Henry Thoreaus of today see their warnings go unheeded. Most coastal cities barge their wastes to sea—usually just far enough out to "get by."

Some municipal and industrial planners have grand schemes to use the oceans as endless waste disposal without knowing the effect this practice might have on a marine ecology so beneficial, indeed essential, to mankind. An affluent world ironically faced with hunger cannot afford to gamble with the resources of the sea. Our lives or our children's may be at stake.

#### WATER QUALITY STANDARDS

Will we correct our environmental bad habits before it is too late? A current testing ground to gauge our will and measure our determination lies in implementing the Water Quality Act of 1965. This landmark legislation provides for the establishment of water quality standards, initiated by the states and submitted for approval to the Secretary of the Interior. The standards, which are applicable to interstate waters, are adopted by the states only after public hearings and approved by the Secretary when in his judgment the standards meet the requirements of the Act.

It should be clearly understood that the water quality standards called for by the 1965 Act consist of two basic ingredients: (1) Water quality criteria which establishes the use, and (2) A plan to enforce and implement them. The criteria relates to the numerical value assigned to such factors as biochemical oxygen demand (BOD), dissolved oxygen (DO), the temperature parameters, the acidity (Ph factor) and other conditions by which we measure water to determine what proper use it may be given. The plan for implementation and enforcement refers to when and how the criteria shall be applicable to specific areas.

These standards must take into consideration water use and value for public water supplies, propagation of fish and wildlife, recreational purposes, and agricultural, industrial, and other legitimate uses. In the same instance Section 10(c)(3) specifically provides that the water quality standards shall "... enhance the quality of water."

Interpreting the language of the statute set off a controversy among all water users which was resolved on February 8, 1968, by Secretary Udall's "nondegradation" statement. It was so named because (following approval of some of the initial standards in 1967) some of the mindful conservationists in this very audience vigorously protested that the Department was approving standards which permitted a lowering or degradation of existing water quality. Our critics were quick to remind us that we were ignoring the Congressional mandate to "enhance the quality of water."

Secretary Udall gave all sides their day in court and then decided to ask each state to include substantially the following language in their water quality standards:

"Waters whose existing quality is better than the established standards as of the date on which such standards become effective will be maintained at their existing high quality. These and other waters of your State will not be lowered in quality unless and until it has been affirmatively demonstrated to the State water pollution control agency and the Department of the Interior that such change is justifiable as a result of necessary economic or social development and will not interfere with or become injurious to any assigned uses made of, or presently possible, in such waters. This will require that any industrial, public or private project or development which would constitute

a new source of pollution or an increased source of pollution to high quality waters will be required, as part of the initial project design, to provide the highest and best degree of waste treatment available under existing technology, and, since these are also Federal standards, these waste treatment requirements will be developed cooperatively."

I should like to emphasize that we request from the states a statement only substantially similar to this. Like the standards themselves such language will necessarily vary from state to state. When it can be shown that necessary economic or social development justifies a reduction of water quality and that such reduction will not interfere with existing uses, a lowering of water quality will be permitted (if the new industry is willing to install the best practicable means of treatment to minimize its abuse of such high quality water).

Most segments of society have accepted the standards approach as a logical battle plan to attack one of the most critical domestic problems facing this country. Almost every state is to be congratulated for a genuine spirit of cooperation and a keen sense of duty to accomplish the task at hand. Industry, too, should be lauded for seeking to upgrade its treatment technology to meet water quality standards. And for the most part business is moving forward willingly. As an example of a healthy attitude toward clean water, I am told that capital spending for the control of both air and water pollution by the business community will show a marked increase in 1968. Estimates given me show the chemical industry spending 42% more for water pollution control this year than in 1967. For the same purpose textiles will increase its funding 136%, the mining industry 51%, electric and gas utilities 32% and fabricated metals and instrument makers will be up 64%.

In administering the Water Quality Act we are of course not without our critics. Some have accused the Department of usurping the states' authority and others complain that we have formulated national water quality standards.

This is not true. We have been continually aware that the primary responsibility for establishing these standards rests with the states. Our policies, consistent with both the language and the spirit of the Congressional mandate, are designed to protect this principal responsibility. I want to make it perfectly clear that the standards are not identical. The wide variety of differences in the standards is reflected in the many designated uses of water, the nature of the water resource, climate, population, industrial activity and a host of other variables. No national standard is intended and when the states adopt standards of their own which meet the terms of the Act they are approved.

A few of our critics have complained that the Department has demanded the adoption of effluent standards relating to the quality of matter permitted to be discharged into interstate streams. More particularly, these few say that we are insisting upon secondary treatment or its equivalent. The main thrust of this argument is that we made this a requirement in a document, *Guidelines for Establishing Water Quality Standards for Interstate Waters*, dated May 1966. These Guidelines were not issued as Federal regulations but merely to give some direction to the states in adopting standards which would meet the requirements of the Act. Certainly the Guidelines could not be construed as a mandatory directive. Secondary treatment is an engineering term generally understood to refer to the removal of 75% to 90% of biological oxygen demanding materials. Sophisticated engineers know that the term is not directly transferable to most industrial plants effluents, that it is imprecise when it is used beyond its normal purview. That purview is the measure of treat-

ment of municipal wastes. Only when it is a fully accurate term should it be used, and when we can be more precise, other descriptions of quality should be used.

This Department has not demanded application of "secondary treatment" to all effluents as a pre-condition of approval of any State's standards. It is interesting to note, however, that almost every State has gone to what engineers shorthand jargon terms "secondary treatment" for its municipal wastes by its own choice.

In the Department we are not concerned with effluent standards but with standards of water quality and assuring that the set criteria to permit assigned uses will, in fact, be achieved within a reasonable period of time. That is our interest and I think we should stop this argument over what "secondary treatment" means and get on with the business of cleaning up our waters.

#### THE ROLE OF THE CONSERVATION COMMUNITY

Speaking of getting on with the business of water clean up, you—the conservation community—have a critical role to play in this work. In a decade which is unparalleled in American history for achievements in the field of conservation you have already been remarkable leaders. Much has been done, but much more lies ahead. Now we must quicken the pace. The future role of the conservation community must be more active than the past. Together we must work to:

(1) Create a climate of public opinion that demands clean water and higher environmental quality.

(2) Assist the states and Federal Government in setting the remaining water quality standards.

(3) Support needed legislative tools and generate public acceptance of them. We need your leadership to enact the Water Quality Improvement Act of 1968, now pending before Congress. It will enable us to fund the construction grant program at the actual level of authorization. We need your help to back state legislation and funding of clean water measures.

(4) Create institutions to plan and manage our water and wastes. Keep up your support for watershed associations, river basin compacts, state-wide management bodies for water and waste, and use of land.

(5) Help fill the gap in manpower needed to operate America's water and waste management systems. Encourage people to pursue careers in conservation and pollution control, and support better salaries for these important jobs. Help educate youth in the attitudes and skills necessary to protect and improve America's natural heritage.

(6) Monitor water quality and the whole program to set, implement, and enforce water quality standards.

I regard the conservation community as an extension of our surveillance and early warning system to prevent ecological disasters and promote environmental quality.

You are the first line of defense in protecting our living space against unnecessary unthinking and destructive incursions of man's activities.

Focus public attention on trouble spots— inadequately built or operated waste treatment plants, industrial carelessness, government oversight. Keep up the political pressure for conservation, pollution control and environmental quality on all levels of government.

I have outlined a number of ways the conservation community can help protect the quality of our environment.

There is still another area where your action, combined with Government's, can help assure that national policies can cope with national environmental problems.

There is a gap today, and a serious one, in our reporting and review of national resource and environment policy. For national economic and defense affairs we have a system of an annual Executive Branch report on

problems and policies, then Legislative Branch review and hearings on this report and analysis by an informed community of policy analysts.

The Defense Department conducts yearly posture hearings before the Appropriations and the Armed Services Committees of the House and Senate. The Defense statement and Congressional hearings are then discussed and criticized by the press and also by the network of defense and foreign policy research centers which have grown up since World War II in universities, industry, and non-profit research organizations.

A comparable system also exists for economic matters where the Council of Economic Advisers prepares a periodic statement on the United States' economy—the Economic Report of the President—which is then the subject of hearings before the Joint Economic Committee. The report and hearings are then discussed by the press and by a strong network of economic policy analysts in universities and research organizations.

But for resources and environment, there is no such system for analysis. I do not think we can delay having one any longer.

Our resource problems are too complex, and effects of failing to solve them too disastrous to allow a gap in analysis.

We need this system of examination to assure that our policies are adequate for the complex and growing resource and environment problems.

We need a system to assure in the Executive and Legislative Branches coordination and continuity of various aspects of environment and resource policy. A recent study by the Library of Congress lists some 38 parts of the Executive Branch and some 24 standing committees of Congress concerned with water problems alone. Coordinated policies under such a structure require a sustained and persistent review.

The reporting and hearing mechanism would expand considerably the public's awareness of the complex resource problems. The whole resource picture, the total natural environment would be considered as a unit, as it really is, not fragmented artificially into separate pieces for study. One resource would be related to another, one form of pollution to another.

We have come to realize lately the critical importance of ecology—the inter-relatedness of things. The public wants to know more about ecological problems, and, indeed, the public must have sufficient information of this kind to permit fully rational land, water and air use decisions.

I suggest that this Nation needs, and you support, a system at the federal level which sets forth, on a regular, periodic basis, our conservation and resource policies for discussion, debate and decision by the people of the United States. The process must become permanent—institutionalized.

The system would work like this:

(1) The Executive Branch would issue an annual report on the status of resource problems and policies.

(2) Congress would then hold hearings on this report to assess whether the policies are adequate for the problems.

(3) The report and hearings should be discussed and analyzed by the press, the public, the conservation community, and other groups concerned with resource policy. This examination should be backed up by a strong network of centers for resource policy analysis, located at universities as well as in non-profit and commercial research organizations.

To date, only scattered elements of this system exist, and, if we are to have better resource policy in the future, then we must—with the help of the conservation community—create such a system.

Insofar as we have, as a Nation, looked at our resource problems as a whole in the past—at their specific elements and inter-

actions—we have done so intermittently, in an ad hoc fashion, through periodic study commissions which looked at the resource problem or part of it, issued their reports and recommendations and then disbanded. The reports and the recommendations, for the most part, have gathered dust on the shelves.

For example, over the past 35 years, we have had—

The National Resources Board and Advisory Committee in 1934;

The National Resource Committee in 1935;

The National Resource Planning Board from 1939 to 1943;

The Water Resources Policy Commission (Cooke Commission) under President Truman in 1950;

The Materials Policy Commission (Paley Commission) in 1952;

The resource proposals contained in the first and second Hoover commissions;

The Advisory Committee on Water Resources Policy under President Eisenhower;

The Senate Select Committee on National Water Resources in 1960.

After each body made its report, it disbanded.

As a result, we have lacked the continued analysis of overall resource policies—by both the Executive and Legislative Branches—which effective resource and environmental policy requires.

As I see it the conservation community can have an important part in creating and sustaining this needed institutional system for resource management.

Here's what you can do:

(1) Be strong and vocal in support of this periodic report on total resource problems which is then the subject of hearings.

(2) Act to create the strong network of centers to analyze and criticize and offer new answers to our resource problems and policies.

(3) When the system begins to operate, the conservation community must help analyze and criticize the statements of problems and of the actions proposed to deal with them, and offer new answers.

Let me conclude with this charge: Do not drop the banner for a quality environment. You—the conservation community—were the vanguard in the fight for clean water when it began. Your cause has now been accepted. According to recent polls nearly 90% of the American people support a vigorous clean water and clean air program.

But you must not become complacent, or feel your job is done. More than ever we need you. You must continue in the forefront of this fight—for it will continue, in different arenas, perhaps, but it will continue—until environmental quality becomes a permanent consideration in American life. We have laid the ground rules—the water quality standards—for the next stage of the clean water fight. Learn the new ground rules and move forward by them—vigorously, positively, and undaunted.

#### A MEASURE OF PURPOSE

### HON. GRAHAM PURCELL

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 19, 1968

Mr. PURCELL. Mr. Speaker, recently I had the honor and privilege to attend an Armed Forces Day celebration in the city of Dallas, Tex.

I was particularly impressed by the major address of that occasion, made by Army Chief of Staff Harold K. Johnson. General Johnson was introduced by the former commander of the U.S. Military

Assistance Command, Vietnam, Lt. Gen. Paul D. Harkins, who began his service career by being appointed to the U.S. Military Academy in 1925, and graduated in 1929.

When the United States entered World War II, General Harkins was on duty as Brigade S-3 of the 1st Cavalry Brigade, Fort Bliss, Tex. In October 1942 he participated in the American invasion of North Africa as deputy chief of staff of the Western Task Force.

After the decision was made in 1943 to invade Sicily, General Harkins, as deputy chief of staff of the 7th U.S. Army, helped work out the invasion plan. During the last year and a half of World War II operations in Europe he served as the deputy chief of staff of the 3d U.S. Army, commanded by the late Gen. George S. Patton, Jr. For a few months following the end of the war, he was deputy chief of staff of the 15th U.S. Army in Europe.

During the Korean war, General Harkins served as chief of staff of the 8th U.S. Army from April to December 1953, when he became commanding general of the 45th Infantry Division. In March 1953, he assumed command of the 24th Infantry Division, also stationed in Korea.

General Harkins was appointed in August 1954 as deputy assistant chief of staff G-3 for International Affairs for the Department of the Army. On July 25, 1955, he was appointed assistant chief of staff G-3, the Department of the Army. When the Department of the Army general staff was reorganized in early 1956, he became assistant deputy chief of staff for Military Operations.

From Washington, D.C., General Harkins went to Turkey as commanding general of NATO's Allied Land Forces, Southeastern Europe, on August 22, 1957. He became deputy commander in chief and chief of staff, U.S. Army, Pacific, in September 1960, and assumed his post as commander of U.S. Military Assistance Command, Vietnam, in 1962.

Mr. Speaker, at this point, I would like to have General Johnson's speech, as well as General Harkins' excellent introduction of the Army Chief of Staff, made a part of the Record, in order that all of us might be reminded of the great debt we owe this outstanding body of officers who have been produced by our American military system. I commend these remarks to my colleagues:

#### A MEASURE OF PURPOSE

(Address by Gen. Harold K. Johnson, Chief of Staff, U.S. Army, Armed Forces Day luncheon, Dallas, Tex., May 17, 1968)

One of the finest and least heralded blessings of an occasion like this is the opportunity it gives us to reflect. On this Armed Forces Day I will measure the Army against the standard of our national purpose. To my knowledge, the best statement of our national purpose is the Preamble to the Constitution.

In case you have forgotten, the Preamble goes like this:

"We, the people of the United States, in Order to form a more perfect Union, establish Justice, insure domestic Tranquility, provide for the common Defense, promote the general Welfare, and secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America."

There are six special items in that paragraph that I want to use as a checklist to measure the Army. The first of these is "We, the people . . ."

The Army is people—Americans by birth or by adoption—the boy next-door—the youngster down the street. Our leaders come not from the landed nobility nor from families of wealth and influence. They come from both high and humble homes. Many more of them graduate from colleges and universities across our land than from the Military Academy at West Point. Some, not yet college graduates, come from officer candidate schools or up through the ranks. As an overview, Army people average about 22½ years of age, and most of them enter the Army as privates and second lieutenants. They are bigger, tougher and better educated than were the men of my generation. Fewer of them are court-martialed and less drop out from psychiatric disorders than was the case with their fathers and older brothers of World War II and Korea.

The Army measures its strength in people—not in weapons or machines. The fact that these people come from every segment of our society gives us just what we need—an Army of, by and for the people. I deplore the thought some have advanced that we should abandon the draft and shift to an all-professional Army. If we were to do that, inevitably we would create a gap with the people the Army is designed to serve. That is just the opposite of what we want to do. Today, the American people are the Army's conscience and the Army is the servant of the people who support and sustain the Army. That, in my opinion, is just the way it ought to be.

The first national purpose laid out in the Preamble is, ". . . to form a more perfect Union . . ." Nothing could more accurately describe the original—and a continuing—purpose of our Armed Forces. Even before the Nation was, these fighting men were. From New England to Georgia—13 widespread colonies in all—they were called up and committed before their cause had a formal name. They were earning battle streamers before they had a national flag on which to hang them. They won independence for the colonies before the colonies could form a union. But—and this is a point never to be forgotten—once the Nation had been welded and hammered into shape, its Army and Navy were recast time after time in the national image. They have grown up in the likeness of the people they helped hold together in a union which, though tried in blood and fire, continues to withstand the test of time.

A second national purpose stated in the Preamble is, ". . . to establish justice and insure domestic tranquility . . ." Many people think of an Army only in terms of waging a war. Actually, our Army has a much broader mission—one that has an objective beyond any war. Just as the soldier swears to uphold the Constitution against all enemies, foreign and domestic, so do our Armed Forces stand ready to respond to requests for assistance from civil authority when law enforcement agencies at the city, state, and federal civilian levels prove inadequate for the task.

Our forefathers quickly recognized the simple fact that if the American purpose was to amount to anything, the young Republic must first survive as a nation. Thus we see the words ". . . provide for the common defense . . ." delineating a third and very practical purpose in the Preamble.

The concept of a common defense has, of course, changed as our Nation grew. In those early days the young government took itself to defend its newly formed union of former colonies—with the help of the militia. As we gained stature as a nation, the American vision spread across our continent and took root in the hearts of men in other lands.